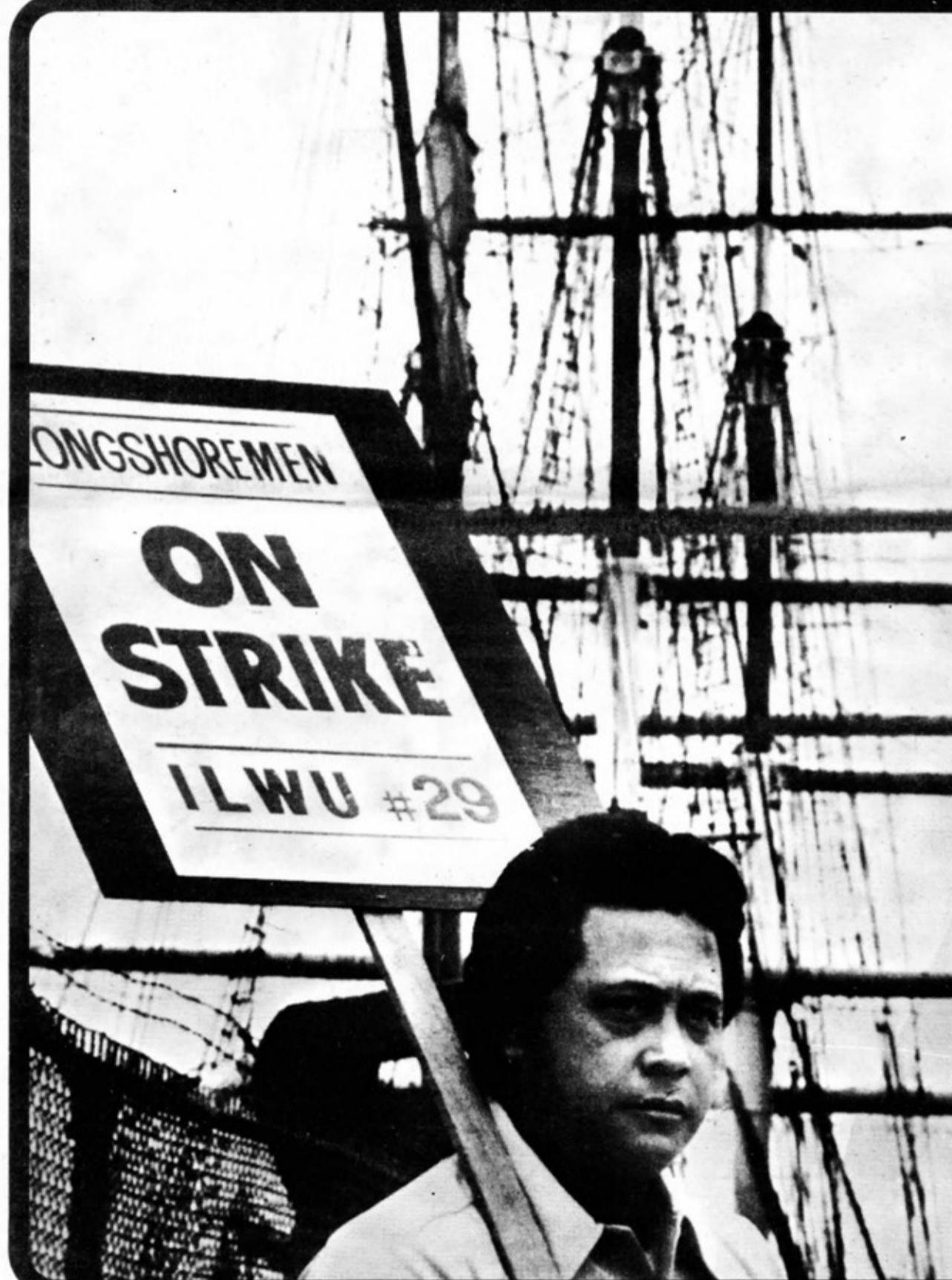


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Nixon attacks longshore strike



By FRANK LOVELL

OCT. 6—President Nixon today invoked the antilabor Taft-Hartley law to force the striking longshoremen on the West Coast back to work. This is the first time since he entered the White House that Nixon has used this law.

At the request of the New York Shipping Association, Nixon did not order the longshore workers on the East Coast back to work. Instead, his mediators are attempting to get a settlement on the employers' terms. This seemingly contradictory policy of ordering strikers back to work on one coast but not the other is in reality a two-edged attack on the growing solidarity of striking longshoremen.

On Oct. 1, all seaports on the East and West Coasts, and the port of Beaumont, Texas, on the Gulf were closed by dock workers, whose contract had expired.

When the 45,000 members of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) on the East Coast walked out, tightening the dock strike started three months earlier by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent) on the West Coast, it was the closest to a complete tie-up of all U.S. coastal ports since the solid 17-day national seamen's strike of 1946.

In the face of this massive shutdown of a vitally important industry, Nixon appointed a five-member board of inquiry Oct. 4 to recommend when and under what conditions longshoremen should be ordered back to work. According to the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, the president can force strikers back to work if he feels their strike imperils the national health and safety.

Nixon already made clear last week after his Portland meeting with ILWU President Harry Bridges and Edward Flynn, head of the employers' Pacific Maritime Association, that he would force the West Coast strikers

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FORUM ON PRISONS: Denver's Militant Forum Sept. 24 heard Joe Johnson, a former inmate at Springfield Federal Penitentiary in Missouri and a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, speak about the roots and direction of the prison revolt. Johnson urged people at the forum to participate in an Oct. 2 rally at the Canon City, Colo., prison sponsored by a broad range of organizations. The meeting collected \$20 to pay for free Militant subscriptions for prisoners in Colorado.

PATHFINDER BOOK SALES HIGH: The business manager of Pathfinder Press reports that orders for *Black Voices from Prison* by Etheridge Knight have topped sales for all other Pathfinder books since the Attica rebellion and massacre. In the original review of the book in the *Notre Dame Journal of Education*, Preston Wilcox, who also reviewed the book for *The Black Scholar*, wrote: "Etheridge Knight has put together a collection . . . to provide a view of the ghetto from the prison. . . . Books about prison life are not new . . . Knight's contribution is his perceptive ability as a social researcher and a social analyst: his ability to perceive the linkages between ghettos and prisons. Importantly, one is not left sad; he is left angry; mobilized toward action. What Knight presents is a picture of a conscious struggle between oppression and resistance to it; 'conscious living' and 'conscious killing.' And in the end the prison system cannot win. That's his message." (\$2.45 in paperback, Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

WOMEN FOR JENNESS AND PULLEY: An advertisement listing the names of women who support the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential ticket will be placed in radical, women's liberation and underground newspapers around the time of the Nov. 20 march on Washington for the repeal of all abortion laws, according to the SWP campaign staff. Copies of the ad are available from the SWP 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

UNFAIR ELECTION LAWS: The Committee for Democratic Election Laws, formed to legally challenge unfair election laws, has been endorsed by Dr. Benjamin Spock; Jose Angel Gutierrez of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party; Representative Paul McClosky (R-Calif.); Nobel Prize winner Salvador Luria, MIT biologist; G. Donn Teal, author of *The Gay Militants*; Dwight McDonald; Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition; and Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate for 1972; as well as many others.

NEWS FLASH

CLEVELAND, Oct. 7—The Ohio Supreme Court yesterday upheld the Aug. 19 ruling of the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections that John Hawkins, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, be ruled off the ballot. The decision adopted by a four-to-three vote stated, "The Board was not under a clear legal duty to place Hawkins' name on the ballot."

Hawkins, who filed more than the required number of signatures, was knocked off the ballot for not filing a master sheet of the signatures, a requirement which the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* editorially referred to as a "petty flyspeck technicality."

Hawkins is planning a vigorous write-in campaign.

ILLINOIS PRISONER SUES ON FREEZE: An inmate at Statesville Prison in Illinois filed a \$250,000 suit against prison officials Oct. 5, charging them with raising prices in the prison commissary in violation of the price freeze and arguing that exemption of inmates from freeze protection violated his civil rights.

JUAN FARINAS: Attorney Sanford Katz announced Oct. 5 that he will petition the Supreme Court to review the case of Juan Farinas. Farinas, a supporter of the Workers League convicted last January on frame-up charges of draft evasion, had the lower-court verdict of guilty unanimously affirmed by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals Sept. 28. The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is planning a huge publicity campaign around the appeal to the Supreme Court and is appealing for funds to be sent to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

PARIS ANTIWAR ACTION: The Oct. 6 *New York Times* reported that 150 persons demonstrated outside the U.S. Consulate in Paris Oct. 5 against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

KENT STATE GUARDSMAN WINS C.O. DISCHARGE: Pvt. Raymond D. Silvey, who was a member of the Akron,

Ohio-based First Battalion of the 145th Infantry, the guard unit sent to Kent State in May 1970, won a court decision Sept. 29 ordering his discharge from the service as a conscientious objector. After the four students were shot at Kent, 24-year-old Silvey threw down his rifle and left the ranks. "I wasn't about to take part in any killing," he said.

GAY RIGHTS BILL: New York City's Gay Activists Alliance launched what is projected as an escalating series of actions Sept. 30 with a protest outside the apartment building where City Councilman Saul Sharison lives. The 11 p.m. protest of about 200 on Sept. 30 was followed by a 1 a.m. demonstration at the same site Oct. 3 of about 1,000. The aim of the demonstrations is passage of Intro 475, a bill the council has been sitting on for a year that would make employment and housing discrimination against homosexuals illegal. Six activists who entered the lobby of Sharison's building Oct. 3 were arrested for "criminal trespass," and the picketing crowd outside the building was dispersed about 3 a.m. by New York's Tactical Police Force.

"THESE MAN HAVE NO RIGHTS": Dr. Paul F. Bramwell, director of the Atascadero State Hospital in California to which male homosexuals are committed by courts for an indeterminate period "until they are cured," told UC Santa Barbara sociology professor William J. Chambliss the above about his patients when Chambliss visited the facility recently and observed the "treatment" used to "cure" homosexuality. Actually nothing but torture, the "treatment" consists of fixing an electrode to a patient's penis and administering electric shocks when he tumesces in response to suggestive slides of men flashed on the wall. After talking to Bramwell and observing the torture—also administered at California's Vacaville State Prison—Chambliss told Don Jackson, "I would feel more secure if the patients went home and the staff stayed locked up."

CALIFORNIA REJECTS GAY LAW REFORM: Amid speeches about Sodom and Gomorrah, the California Assembly on Oct. 5 voted down by 41 to 26 a proposed reform that would have legalized all forms of sexual conduct between consenting adults.

CONNECTICUT GAY LAW REFORM TAKES EFFECT: The Connecticut code eliminating laws against homosexual acts between consenting adults, passed by the legislature in 1969, went into effect Oct. 1.

CARLOS FELICIANO OUT ON BAIL: Carlos Feliciano, 41-year-old Puerto Rican nationalist whose trial begins Oct. 18 on frame-up bombing and illegal weapons possession charges, won release on bail of \$55,000 Sept. 29 after 16 months in jail. Officials kept Feliciano in jail by manipulating the amount of bail. Bail was initially set at \$100,000 on one indictment and \$150,000 on a second. When each of these was reduced through court fights to \$25,000, a third indictment was added with bail of \$50,000. When the last sum was finally reduced to \$5,000, Feliciano obtained his freedom. Now his attorneys, William Kunstler and Conrad Lynn, are planning to file a federal suit charging Assistant District Attorney John Fine with deliberately lying and falsifying Feliciano's arrest record to keep him in jail by means of astronomical bail. The suit seeks to have the fake charges thrown out. More information on the case can be obtained from the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Contributions can be sent to the same address.

FILM ON TROTSKY: We reported in this column June 11 that Joseph Losey would be directing a film on Trotsky's assassination. At that time we indicated that Dirk Bogarde had been cast as Trotsky and Alain Delon as the assassin. The film went into production Sept. 13 with Richard Burton, not Bogarde, signed as Trotsky. Outdoor scenes are being shot in Mexico and indoor scenes in Rome. Delon is still cast as the assassin and Romy Schneider has also been signed, presumably as Natalia Trotsky. The film is being produced by an Italian company owned by Josef Shafel, another Italian company and a French company with director Losey and Norman Priggen co-producing from a screenplay written by Nicholas Mosely, entitled "The Assassination of Trotsky."

YSA SPEAKERS BUILD HOUSTON CONVENTION: The Oct. 8 issue of the weekly action publication of the Young Socialist Alliance, *The Young Socialist Organizer*, reports that in each of 14 regions the YSA has released a leading speaker who can represent the YSA at meetings in the other regions. The speakers will travel to conferences and meetings to both raise money for and publicize the 11th National Young Socialists Convention in Houston Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

—LEE SMITH

3,300 new subs in one week!

By BAXTER SMITH

More than 3,300 new subscriptions were sent in for *The Militant* sub drive this week! This is the largest number received so far in one week and puts the campaign almost 1,000 ahead of schedule at the end of the third week of the drive. So far 9,121 new readers have been obtained in the drive to get 30,000 new readers by Dec. 1.

The national sub teams continue to set the pace, turning in 1,214 subs this week alone for a total of 3,399. That puts them at more than 50 percent of their quota of 6,000 less than one-third of the way through the drive. As the scoreboard indicates, several areas have surpassed or are near the 50-percent mark. Four additional areas—San Diego, Tallahassee, Denver and New York Upper West Side—are on time this week.

Salespeople from around the country report that this fall it is easier to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* than

ever before. No other paper can give these new readers the excellent political news and analysis each week of the many liberation struggles.

A significant percentage of these new subscriptions have come in from areas where there have not previously been *Militant* readers. The Southern national sub team, for example, reported selling 83 subscriptions on a Sunday afternoon at an agricultural college in Raleigh, N.C.

Steve Bloom, a member of the Southwest national team, wrote in that their "best response yet was at Grambling College, a small Black college in Louisiana. In two evenings going through the dorms (a few hours each night), the team has sold over 100 subs. When you figure that people live three and four in a room, a large percentage of the students will be getting *The Militant* regularly and still more will be reading it." Bloom alone has

sold over 300 subs so far.

The Militant is also reaching more and more into the prisons throughout the U.S. as its coverage continues to focus on the radicalization and the inhuman conditions within prisons. Oakland-Berkeley, Seattle and other areas have sent in special complementary subscriptions for prisoners. *Militant* supporters from Denver recently visited a maximum security prison in Canon City, Colo., where about 200 prisoners they met signed up for free subscriptions to *The Militant*. Later, over \$20 in donations was raised in Denver to help subsidize these subs.

When sub teams have been able to spend a good portion of a day on campus and in the dorms, the results are impressive. Supporters from the Upper West Side in New York City sold 108 subs in eight hours at the State University in New Paltz and at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, both

in upstate New York.

With the excellent momentum now established around the subscription campaign, all areas behind schedule should redouble their efforts to be on time by next week. Those areas doing well have found that everybody can sell subs easily, including new subscribers. The key is perseverance and frequent sub blitzes onto the campuses.

With the fall antiwar actions beginning and the women's abortion repeal campaign well underway, every new subscriber to *The Militant* is a potential builder and supporter of these actions. And *The Militant* offers the most comprehensive and factual information on these actions.

The *International Socialist Review* subscription drive for 5,000 new readers is still about 50 percent behind schedule. Areas should continue to make an effort to ask every *Militant* subscriber to also subscribe to the *ISR*.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	13	260.0
Travis A.F.B., Calif.	15	20	133.3
Paterson, N.J.	25	24	96.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	27	67.5
Claremont, Calif.	40	21	52.5
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	550	45.8
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	431	43.1
Washington, D.C.	600	232	38.7
San Diego, Calif.	200	76	38.0
Austin, Texas	375	133	35.5
Worcester, Mass.	200	69	34.5
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	16	32.0
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	64	32.0
Providence, R.I.	200	61	30.5
Seattle, Wash.	600	183	30.5
Davenport, Iowa	10	3	30.0
Denver, Colo.	700	197	28.1
Bloomington, Ind.	150	42	28.0
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	344	27.5



4,309 people
live in
Grambling,
Louisiana--
10 of them
read *The
Militant*

You may never have heard of Ashland, Virginia; Falfurrias, Texas; Baraboo, Wisconsin; or Novelty, Ohio, but in all those places new subscribers are reading *The Militant*.

More and more people everywhere are opposed to the war, in favor of Black and Chicano liberation, willing to fight the wage freeze and in support of women's right to abortion. *The Militant* is the only newsweekly consistently supporting these struggles.

No matter where you are, *The Militant* is the paper for you.

Subscribe now 10 issues/\$1

- () Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- () Enclosed is \$2 for three months of the *International Socialist Review* and 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- () Send me a full year of *The Militant* for \$6.
- () I'm a GI. Send me six months of *The Militant* for \$1.50.
- () I'm a prisoner. Send me six months of *The Militant* free.

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14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

Abortion campaign endorsed by Fonda, Friedan, Steinem

DETROIT, Oct. 3—The National Coordinating Committee of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) held its second meeting yesterday at the Detroit YWCA. Over 100 women from 12 states, 16 cities and Washington, D.C., attended the meeting. Area reports and progress reports reflected the fact that enthusiasm and support for the WONAAC abortion campaign is growing among a wide spectrum of women.

Some of the most recent additions to the hundreds of endorsers of WONAAC are: Jane Fonda; Betty Friedan; Gloria Steinem; Dr. Dorothy Febe, head of the D.C. Commission on the Status of Women; Julian Bond; Celestine Ware, author of *Woman Power*; and Dorothy Sain, president of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild. The Executive Board of the National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws (NARAL), the Southern California National Women's Political Caucus and chapters of the National Organization for Women in Albuquerque, N.M.; Portland, Ore.; and Cleveland have also recently endorsed the campaign.

The Detroit meeting further developed WONAAC's plans for the Nov. 20 march on Washington for abortion law repeal, approving a march route and rally site and initial speakers for the demonstration. It also approved the creation of a National Women's Commission for the Study of Abortion, which will hold a national hearing in Washington, D.C., prior to the Nov. 20 demonstration.

The report from Boston focused on the tremendous response women there had received from campuses, while the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition reported on plans for an Illinois abortion week scheduled for Nov. 8-15. The report from Boston also included plans of local women from the WACs who are organizing a military contingent for the Nov. 20 Washington demonstration.

"WONAAC West" in San Francisco reported on plans for the Nov. 20 West Coast action. Much of the coordination for the western states has been preparation for the Oct. 15-17 western states conference, which will be held at the University of California at Berkeley.

To build the conference, two women have been traveling to all the campuses in the Northern California region, where they recently received the endorsement of the Black Student Union at Mills College. The address of the West Coast office is: 130 10th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

New abortion action coalitions have been formed in Binghamton, N.Y.; Lansing and Ann Arbor, Mich.; Albuquerque, N.M.; Bloomington, Ind.; and Cape Cod, Mass. A Black Women United for Abortion Law Repeal is forming in Detroit.

Scores of letters are received daily in the WONAAC national office asking for information about the Nov. 20 march and how to organize WONAAC affiliates in their areas.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, WONAAC's national project director, will continue with her national tour this week in Atlanta. Los Angeles, San Diego and Houston will be additional stops in the coming weeks.

Press coverage of WONAAC's activities has been very favorable. A recent *Los Angeles Times* story on

WONAAC was picked up all across the country, while local press conferences have netted valuable help in establishing and publicizing WONAAC. The WONAAC national office will be holding a press conference in Washington, D.C., Oct. 14, when many important supporters will announce plans for the march route, the rally, and the National Women's Commission.

The memorandum on the commission passed by the National Coordinating Committee states that "The commission would inquire into the real situation concerning abortions in this country, and would present its recommendations to the national government. These recommendations would be part of the demands of the Nov. 20 demonstration, more explanatory in scope and educational in nature. The findings of the commission would be presented at a national hearing in Washington, D.C., just prior to the Nov. 20 demonstrations in D.C. and San Francisco. . . . The commission, in its investigation, would not pretend to be a 'neutral' endeavor, because abortion is not a neutral question.

"Its purpose would be to prove categorically and beyond a shadow of doubt to the government and to the American people that all antiabortion laws in this country must be repealed, that forced sterilizations cannot be tolerated, and that all restrictive contraception laws should be repealed. The commission would be dedicated to the proposition that a woman has the right to choose whether or not to bear children."

Over 250 women and organizations have been invited to participate in the commission.

WONAAC supporters attended sessions of the national conference of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL) Oct. 2-4 in Washington, D.C. NARAL members from 16 states signed WONAAC lists to endorse or receive more information on the Nov. 20 demonstration.

In addition to Betty Friedan, some of the new endorsers obtained at the NARAL convention are: Dorothy Doyle, a Catholic legislator from Maine who has introduced a repeal bill there; Virginia Downes, M.D., a prominent physician from Birmingham, Ala.; Margaret DeBott from Tidewater NOW; and Larry Lader, chairman of the executive committee of NARAL. While attending the NARAL convention, a number of women from the Abortion Justice Association in Pittsburgh decided to form a WONAAC chapter when they returned home.

WONAAC was given a friendly reception by the convention as a whole. Dr. Barbara Roberts represented WONAAC in a panel on "Perspectives for 1972." Carol Greitzer, NARAL president, remarked at the main public meeting that the formation of WONAAC should be seen as one of the major political developments of 1971. She said that WONAAC should be welcomed as an organization that can involve many new forces in the fight to repeal abortion laws.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition is located at 917 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone: (202) 347-0946.

Shirley Wheeler tells of unjust treatment

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Shirley Wheeler, 23, from Daytona Beach, Fla., was convicted July 13 of "manslaughter" for allegedly having an illegal abortion. Florida abortion laws would not permit Wheeler to have a legal abortion, even though doctors warned that pregnancy could endanger her life since she had rheumatic fever.

Wheeler has not been sentenced yet, but she could receive up to 20 years in prison. The following are excerpts from letters Shirley Wheeler wrote over the past year to her attorney Nancy Stearns. Stearns has been the attorney for a number of the class-action suits brought by women challenging the constitutionality of state abortion laws.

"Dec. 7, 1970 . . . I know you've heard it hundreds of times, but if men had to go through pregnancy it [abortion] would have been *legal years ago*. Also it cuts down on unwanted and neglected, unloved babies. I don't have the money to raise a child the way I'd like, and besides, the world situation keeps getting worse for anyone's kids to grow up in such a mess."

"April 29, 1971 . . . I told Mr. Rogers [the public defender] that if they put me in jail I would lose my mind, and he said to keep out of jail they would have a psychiatrist to evaluate me, and then they would put me in jail just to see if I was bluffing, and

that actually jail would be better than a sanitarium. Damn it, I'm not a criminal, and I just don't want to go to jail, because I'm just on the verge of going over now, and if I'm thrown in jail, I definitely will go over."

"June 8, 1971 . . . I'm really terrified at the thought of going to jail, and damn if anyone here seems to care. There is so much injustice—just like the abortion laws. Men make up all rules, which to me is very unfair."

"July 14, 1971 . . . I'll try to do whatever you want me to do. I didn't want publicity, but now it seems to be the only way. I'll do anything I can possibly do."

"July 31, 1971 . . . Not one thing has been done or said about Dr. Simis, who gave me the pills after I tried and failed from the abortion attempt. What I have been through and will continue to be through is some kind of a 'living hell'. I'm not in good health physically. And having to go through this has made it worse, and also has made me worse mentally. That is what this whole damn mess has done to me."

"The WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Coalition] says that they are having a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 20. I hope somehow I can be there. Maybe some of the Gainesville women and I can go."



Photo by Mark Satinoff

Mich. doctor asserts right to do abortions

By KIPP DAWSON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Dr. Edgar B. Keemer Jr. told a news conference here Oct. 4 that he had recently terminated the pregnancy of a woman in Detroit, despite the fact that her life was not endangered by the pregnancy. Michigan laws forbid abortion except to save a woman's life.

At the news conference sponsored by the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL), Keemer said: "I hereby assert that I have terminated unwanted pregnancies when I professionally assess them to be a threat to the physical or mental health, and therefore to the life-prospect of the impregnated females."

He called special attention to the case of a woman he called "Mrs. X," who has seven children, is on welfare, and whose medical situation will not allow her to use effective contracep-

tives. He said that since she did not have the money to go to New York for an abortion, he aborted her under safe medical conditions in Detroit.

Larry Lader, an endorser of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition and chairman of the NARAL executive committee, announced a major campaign to support Dr. Keemer in case of legal repercussions from his statement. Among those at the news conference who expressed support for Dr. Keemer were Betty Friedan, George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Rev. Ross Nicholson of Michigan Clergy Consultation, and attorneys Cyril Means and Joseph Nellis.

Dr. Keemer is an endorser of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, vice-president of NARAL, and a member of the executive committee of the Black Detroit Medical Society.

Antiwar forces unite for Oct 13, Nov. 6

By BENNETT SATINOFF
and JAY RESSLER

NEW YORK—More than 300 antiwar activists gathered at the headquarters of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (AFL-CIO), here Sept. 30 for a meeting co-sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and New York area trade unionists, including District 65 President David Livingston.

Livingston, who chaired the meeting, said the holding of such a gathering in the union hall was a sign of growing trade-union involvement in the antiwar movement. He announced that 25 unions, including District 65 and District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), were co-sponsoring an Oct. 13 labor antiwar action in New York's garment district under the twin slogans: "Stop the war!" and "Stop the wage freeze!" Emil Mazey, secretary treasurer of the UAW, is scheduled to speak.

The meeting heard reports from Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of NPAC; Pauline Rosen of the PCPJ and the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Brad Lytle of PCPJ; Cathy Perkus of NPAC; Anita Bennett of the NPAC United Women's Contingent; Sam Manuel, coordinator of the NPAC Black Task Force; and NPAC coordinator Ruth Gage-Colby.

Gordon reported on the groundswell of sentiment for "Out Now!" national-

ly, and expressed gratification at the unity of the antiwar movement around the Nov. 6 mass actions and the Oct. 13 moratoriums.

Rosen agreed on the importance of unity, but stressed the demand "Set the Date!" as "something that can be accomplished."

Lytle reported on the negotiations with the city for permits to march through midtown Manhattan from 36th to 43rd Street along Fifth through Eighth Avenue to the Central Park Sheep Meadow for a rally. He said securing the requested route depends on proving to the police that Nov. 6 will be the largest demonstration New York has ever seen.

Perkus reported that the following literature was out to help build Nov. 6: 300,000 stickers, half a million

general leaflets, 20,000 reprints of the *New York Times* ad, 100,000 labor leaflets, and tens of thousands of buttons.

Bennett said the United Women's Contingent was building separate rallies and meetings in the week leading up to Nov. 6 to mobilize women against the war.

Manuel reported that, in addition to building Black Moratorium Committees on the New York campuses, affiliated with the Black Task Force, NPAC was also establishing Dominican and Puerto Rican Task Forces. He reported that a news conference was projected to announce the support of Congressmen Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and John Conyers (D-Mich.) for Nov. 6.

Members of local antiwar groups



Sam Manuel, NPAC Black Task Force coordinator, addresses united New York anti-war meeting Sept. 30.

Photo by Mark Satinoff

November 6 Countdown

The Los Angeles Out Now Coalition, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) affiliate in that city, gathered more than 100 activists at a conference Oct. 2 to hear progress reports and hold workshops on building Oct. 13 moratoriums, Oct. 25 GI and veteran actions, the Nov. 3 student strike and other buildup activities for the mass demonstration in Los Angeles Nov. 6.

The conference heard a keynote address by NPAC national coordinator and Los Angeles Teamster organizer John T. Williams, as well as greetings from a representative of the L.A. Peace Action Council, affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice in the city. Many of those who attended rep-

Against the War and the PCPJ will be downtown. The other, sponsored by the four groups and by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, will be held in Dorchester, Mass., just outside Boston. Many teach-ins and other activities are scheduled to take place on campuses and in such surrounding communities as Haverhill and Norwood the evening of Oct. 13.

Greater Boston PAC, the New England SMC, the VVAW and the PCPJ have enlisted the help of the American Civil Liberties Union in applying for permits for the Nov. 6 mass action in Boston. The application is for a route beginning at the Cambridge Common, looping through the city of Boston

prisoner workshop that a contingent of former prison inmates would march in San Francisco Nov. 6 under the slogan: "Out of Southeast Asia! Out of the penitentiaries!"

San Francisco Oct. 13 moratorium plans include the maintenance of a Peace Action Center all day at the Embarcadero Plaza. Leafletting and other Nov. 6 building activity will be organized from the plaza, which will also be the site of a noon rally and another rally at 5 p.m. The PCPJ will hold a rally against repression across from the Federal Building Oct. 13.

The August 1971 issue of *Free Palestine* carried an article by NPAC national coordinator James Lafferty relating the movement against the war in Indochina to the struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination. "Were the U.S. to commit troops to war in the Mideast," Lafferty argued in his article, "the resulting movement to protest that intervention would find itself the direct beneficiary to the gains made by the anti-Vietnam-war movement." Lafferty quoted former under-secretary of state George Ball, who commented in a 1970 article that "pacifist and isolationist sentiment" in the U.S. had limited the moves open to the government in the event of a Mideast crisis.

The Phoenix Antiwar and Oppression Coalition (PAWOC) has announced its proposed plans for a Nov. 6 action in that city, making the number of slated actions that day 17. According to PAWOC secretary Paul Hileman, the group has asked the city for permits that would provide for a convergence of two feeder marches and a bicycle contingent from neighboring Tempe, Ariz., where the state university is located. The three marches would meet at the city hall complex for a rally. The Phoenix AWOC is not affiliated with either NPAC or PCPJ.

spoke from the floor on plans for Oct. 13. Don Sorsa from the New York SMC reported that the SMC had plans to build rallies Oct. 13 at the more than 50 high schools and campuses where there are SMC chapters in the New York area. "We see these rallies as part of building for the Nov. 3 student strike and the Nov. 6 mass action," Sorsa said.

The unity of antiwar forces demonstrated at the meeting clearly indicated the potential that exists for the Nov. 6 demonstration in New York to be not only the largest in the city's history, but among the largest antiwar actions ever held in the country.

The next meeting is scheduled for Sat., Oct. 16, 1:30 p.m., at the District 65 headquarters, 13 Astor Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Antiwar actions in 17 cities

The massive regional antiwar actions on Nov. 6 are being sponsored and built by affiliates of the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice in the following 16 cities: New York, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Seattle, Tampa, and Washington, D.C. In addition, the antiwar coalition in Phoenix, which is not affiliated with either national coalition, has scheduled a demonstration in that city on Nov. 6.

resented Chicano, women's liberation and high school groups, in addition to antiwar organizations.

About 250 activists attended the Oct. 3 New England Antiwar Workshop Conference at Boston University. The representatives from five states heard a keynot speech from Ernest DeMaio, United Electrical Workers (UE) general vice-president and president of the UE's District Council 11 in Chicago.

Boston's plans for Oct. 13 include two jointly sponsored rallies. One, sponsored by the Greater Boston PAC, the New England Student Mobilization Committee, the Vietnam Veterans

and concluding at the Common again with a rally.

The regional antiwar conference hosted by the Northern California PAC in San Francisco Oct. 1 and 2 drew about 250 activists. A kickoff rally the evening of Oct. 1 was addressed by Jack Radley, PCPJ; James Lafferty, NPAC national coordinator; Hanna Takashigi from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; "Popeye" Jackson, United Prisoners Union; Herb Williams, International Longshoreman's Union (ILWU) Local 10 strike committee; and Tito Lucero of the Oakland Raza Unida Party.

"Popeye" Jackson reported from the

but supports the common calendar of fall actions jointly sponsored by the two groups.

An antiwar art exhibit entitled "Collage of Indignation II" will open in New York Oct. 13 and remain open through Nov. 6 at the Hundred Acres Gallery, 456 West Broadway. More than 70 original designs for peace posters by many leading artists will be on view Tuesdays through Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. The original work in the collection will be sold, with the proceeds going to NPAC.

Recent trade-union endorsements of Oct. 13 include District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York; the Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Kitchen Employees Local 209 in Washington, D.C.; the New York Library Guild, AFSCME Local 1930; the Detroit Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 137 (AFL-CIO); the St. Paul Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28 (AFL-CIO); and the Anoka-Hennepin Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1244 (AFL-CIO).

The NPAC Black Task Force has literature available, including a red, black and green button reading: "Bring the Brothers Home Now!" This button, other literature and information on establishing Black Task Forces or campus Black Moratorium Committees can be obtained by writing to the Black Task Force, NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Endorsers of the Nov. 6 women's contingents included as of Oct. 5 Kay Camp, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Ruth Gage-Colby; writer Gloria Steinem; and actress Julie Newmar. Special Nov. 6 women's contingent buttons, stickers and leaflets are available from the NPAC office at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

In Our Opinion

Truth and the press

The Attica events have proved to be an object lesson about the nature of the capitalist press—that is, the major daily newspapers that are financed by and tailored to serve the interests of the capitalist rulers in this country.

The immediate response of these newspapers—including the most prestigious—was to print as facts the lies and distortions that state and prison authorities dished out regarding the prison rebellion and the subsequent massacre.

On the day following the assault on the prisoners, the *New York Times* editorial, for instance, stated: "Prisoners slashed the throats of utterly helpless, unarmed guards. . . ." The *Washington Post* sent out a story on its news wire saying that "nine hostages were slain by prison inmates," and that "nine of (the hostages) had been castrated." The liberal *New York Post* ran a headline stating that prisoners had killed two hostages before the assault. The *New York Daily News* ran a story under the headline: "I Saw Seven Throats Cut." The *Chicago Daily News* reported that one of the guards had been "sexually mutilated." UPI and AP went right along with these lies, reporting that prisoners killed the hostages, and some had their throats cut, although AP took the trouble to attribute these assertions to prison officials.

The very next day, however, these newspapers, which always put on such an elaborate pretense of "objectivity," were caught in their lies. Before the report could be silenced, a coroner made public his findings that all hostages had been killed by gunshots, and that none of them were castrated. The immediate question that should be asked by Americans is: How many other lies of government officials do these papers report as gospel truth every day which are not exposed?

The reason the capitalist papers lie as they did during the Attica events is because they are controlled by and run in the interests of the ruling class—bankers, businessmen, financiers and landlords. To tell the truth to the American people is not in their interests. It is not in their interests to help make the masses of people aware of the dehumanization, racism, sexism and exploitation of this entire capitalist system including the prisons.

Every newspaper must have a "bias"—that is, it must take a stand, either on the side of the oppressors or on the side of the oppressed. And every newspaper does take a stand, whether it admits it or not.

The Militant, unlike the whole spectrum of the capitalist press, did not take the word of the prison officials in Attica as fact. In fact, we doubted the official accounts from the beginning and sent staff writer Derrick Morrison up to Attica to attempt to get the truth.

The Militant readily and proudly admits that it is a newspaper which serves the interests of the oppressed. It takes the side of working people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, gay people, women, youth, prisoners and all who are struggling for a new, humane world. These are the forces which are exposing hypocrisy and seeking the truth about how this system is run.

Readers of *The Militant* can help get out the truth by joining in the campaign to introduce this paper to 30,000 new readers by Dec. 1.

What does he fear?

Shortly after supporters of Senator George McGovern at the University of Wisconsin agreed to have their candidate debate Socialist Workers Party candidate for president Linda Jenness Oct. 2, McGovern arrived in town and rebuffed them.

In a press statement, he simply said that he declined to debate. To students who questioned him later, he answered that Jenness was the nominated candidate of the SWP, but since he didn't yet have the nomination of his party, he didn't consider a debate appropriate. What kind of lame excuse was this?

If McGovern is confident enough to go from one campus to another trying to convince students to support him and the Democratic Party, why doesn't he feel that he can debate Linda Jenness? Why doesn't he put his ideas into direct confrontation with those of the SWP? What does he have to hide?

There are thousands of young people today who do not automatically accept the notion that the Democratic and Republican parties are the only choice, and McGovern and other candidates in those parties will have a lot of explaining to do.

One thing is certain. Wherever McGovern goes from now on, a lot of his supporters or those considering support to him will be asking, "Why do you refuse to debate Linda Jenness?"

Letters

Free to inmates

I am writing about the free subscription to *The Militant* for inmates. I would like to be one of the first to apply before the rush. I would also like to say that *The Militant* is one of the best. Keep up the informative work.

R.J.
Leavenworth, Kan.

Appeal from prisoner

I am writing this letter to you regarding all political Black prisoners confined and housed in the various state correctional institutions here in Pennsylvania, which is very much similar to the conditions at Attica.

I am maintaining that all Black offenders are a symbol of white society's profound moral failure and primarily because most Black prisoners confined behind prison walls have their roots in the political and economic deprivation of Black Americans by the Anglo-American state, and these are the primary causes and conditions of Black crimes. The American judicial system is being used by those in power to systematically, genocidally, dehumanize and brutalize Black men and women behind these prison walls here in Pennsylvania.

Now at present, due to my witnessing an unprovoked attack physically upon eight Black prisoners at the correctional institution at Graterford prison, I am compelled to be housed in the maximum security cell block on no institutional infractions or any violation of institutional rules.

At present, due to our political beliefs, we are being grossly deprived of free access to the courts and to the public air waves. We are constantly placed in an atmosphere of vicious, club-wielding, mace-spraying white guards, since 90 percent of all maximum security cell blocks within the correctional system are Black prisoners being held on falsified charges and held indefinitely, in punitive seclusion and deprived of all rehabilitative therapy.

In behalf of all Black political prisoners, men and women, I urge you to assist us in our plight to gain the recognition of a human being and not a number. I further urge you to print this letter in *The Militant*.

We are seeking legal assistance, and any organization that is sincere and dedicated in ending this fascism and institutionalized racism that is being sanctioned and employed against the Black men and women confined here in Pennsylvania and violating not only civil rights but human rights.

We don't want an Attica to bring prison reform, but we have our strong convictions.

Please publish this in people's papers in New York. All Power to the People.

Deep in the dungeon,
Paul T. Lyons C-9014
State Correctional Institution,
Drawer R.
Huntingdon, Pa. 16652

NOW convention

We enjoy *The Militant* very much. Thanks especially for the article in the Sept. 24 issue about the NOW [National Organization for Women] convention voting to oppose the wage freeze.

W and J
Wichita, Kan.

Knoxville protesters

Just finished reading the June 11, 1971, issue of *The Militant* and found it quite interesting, especially the Chattanooga article. ["Black revolt in Chattanooga," by Derrick Morrison.]

I thoroughly enjoyed the article last year by Randy Furst on President Nixon at the Billy Graham Crusade here at the University of Tennessee. You might pass on to Mr. Furst the information that Peter Kami is awaiting the decision from the state court of criminal appeals on the trumped-up "riot-incitement" conviction (the decision could come down any day), and that the seven antiwar protesters indicted by the Knox County grand jury on the Billy Graham incident are due to go to trial next month. Someone ought to cover it, I believe, so the country can see just how Mr. Nixon's "law 'n order" works here in the South—something the regular established "liberal" press nationally often doesn't report. There are some untold stories available.

F.M.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Less sectarianism

How about fewer articles on the Communist Party and more information on responses to Amerika by all our brothers and sisters. Save the sectarianism for the meetings. It occupies too much space in the paper.

A.J.P.
Snohomish, Wash.

Fringe benefits

In the Sept. 24 *Militant*, Marvel Scholl, writing for the National Picket Line column, says, "These young men and women (the 50 percent in the membership of unions today who are under 30 years old and are problems for the top leadership of the labor unions) are far more interested in their paychecks, which are to be used today, than they are in the fringe benefit gimmicks which the bureaucracy used to be able to sell to its memberships. To a young worker a pension seems very remote."

Gimmick is the precise word for the schemes used by the labor bureaucracy to derail any fight for real wages. For a long time these gimmicks, dressed up in the fancy language used by advertising firms, worked to blind the members into believing that they had security during their working years and after.

It has become common knowledge that many of the pension plans negotiated in the past are so full of loopholes as to be valueless to the retired worker. This does not become known to the worker until after he or she retires. If the plant moves, runs out of funds, or if the worker quits, or is laid off, only too often pension rights go down the drain.

Walter Reuther's panacea for unemployment in the auto industry was negotiated in place of real wages in 1955 and it is called the Guaranteed Annual Wage. This plan is still in existence throughout the industry and it presumably guarantees the laid-off auto worker 95 percent of weekly salary (after taxes and travel expenses are deducted), up to 52 weeks after lay-off.

How has this scheme worked? It has provided benefits for low seniority workers during periods of prosperity. The real test is NOW, when

The Great Society

the country is in the midst of its most serious depression since 1955.

My example is a case in point. After 23 years with one aircraft firm, I was laid off last August following a six-month strike. Two-thirds of the plant work force were cut back and laid off due to lack of contracts in the aerospace industry. After receiving a total of five checks from the company, all those on layoff were told there would be no more supplemental unemployment benefits because the fund was depleted. It will take five years to build the fund up to the level where benefits can be given to the unemployed worker again. The fund is also used for worker separation pay (if a worker quits) or if the plant moves.

Fringe benefits, such as paid medical, hospital and drug programs, pensions, paid holidays, etc. can be a boon to workers. But it would be far better if these plans were instituted on a national basis for all workers by the federal government.

Herman Kirsch
Shaker Heights, Ohio

Steelworkers

A young steelworker who got interested in radical politics several years ago and joined the Progressive Labor Party and has since left to become a member of another ultraleft outfit, the Workers League, told me about his recent efforts to interest steelworkers in politics and left-wing union caucus activity.

He claims he held meetings of seven in Los Angeles, 13 in Gary, seven in Bethlehem, 11 in Baltimore, four in Duluth, and two in each of several other cities. This is a small beginning for people who think in terms of calling mass strikes simply by denouncing the incumbent union officials as "sellouts," as the Workers League does. It is hard to believe that anyone at all would respond to the kind of program submitted by these ultraleft adventurers in the unions.

According to the account given me, these meetings in all instances except one were called by distributing leaflets at plant gates. The organizers had no contact inside the plants. The fact that anyone came to their meetings reveals a very different response by the workers from only a few years ago when radicals were unwelcome and avoided.

The Communist Party is better organized and has more members in industry. They have tried to pull together a national rank-and-file committee in the Steelworkers union, but in this area they have had no success in attracting any workers other than the few already around the CP. They may have had more success elsewhere.

The fact that such activity is developing now indicates an important shift in political attitude on the part of steelworkers. This happened before the wage freeze. When the effect of this is felt by these workers, we can expect much greater radicalization on their part.

J.B.
Los Angeles, Calif.

That'll learn him—Last spring, Dave Konkol, president of the Resident Student Council at St. Thomas College in St. Paul, requested an administration decision on proposed liberalization of dormitory rules. Receiving no response, Konkol wrote a letter suggesting the administration was afflicted by "bureaucratism, pettiness, paternalism and inefficiency." A reply from the dean stated: "You are wrong. This administration can make decisions. As proof of this, the administration has decided to cancel your financial aid grant for the coming year."

Protective reaction—St. Thomas College was asserting the right of self-defense in cancelling Dave Konkol's grant. The college president, Msgr. Terrence Murphy, explained: "In our college catalog it states that financial aid will be given on the basis of need and contribution to the purpose of the college. It was our judgment Konkol did not qualify on the second part. There is a limit to how much abuse we have to take." With a little grooming, that man could be another Nixon.

Fastest tongue in the Senate—Explaining the seeming contradiction between administration claims of winding down the war and stepped-up bombing of North Vietnam, Senate

Republican leader Hugh Scott said it's like the guy who backs out of the saloon with his guns blazing. Then there's the fella who walks in backward so it looks like he's leaving.

Especially with facts—Criticism has occasionally been directed against the Treasury practice of depositing millions and perhaps billions of dollars in a few favored banks without collecting interest. This is done, the Treasury explains, to make up for some of the little favors the banks do for the government. Asked why both the government and banks involved are reluctant to discuss the practice, a Treasury representative explained: "It's not a question of trying to withhold or conceal. We don't want to confuse the public."

Far-out trip—We've been musing over the recent proposal by psychiatrist Kenneth Clark that a drug be developed to prevent politicians from abusing their power. How about, for openers, a good truth serum?

As hardy as cockroaches—The government reported that so far this year more cigarette brands have increased their tar and nicotine content than those that decreased them. Meanwhile, a representative of the allied coffin-nail pushers was pleased to announce

that despite the ban on TV and radio commercials, sales increased 10 percent for the first six months of this year as compared to the same period last year.

Shrewd tactician—FBI snoopers are grumbling over a J. Edgar Hoover order for an agency-wide skull inspection, with the loss of 10 days' pay for subversive-length sideburns or hair. Agents complain this makes it hard for them to penetrate demonstrations. What they don't get is that the old boy figured out that the short-hairs will simply be regarded as the latest style freaks.

They go around together—A couple in Brookfield, Mo., were joined in holy wedlock while riding on a ferris wheel.

Besides, after you've seen Nixon . . .—Commenting on the decline of the Danish pornography market since its legalization, the chairman of the country's pornography committee observed: "Well, young people really do not bother to buy it anymore. My young son is free to read it but he is far more interested in Vietnam and Karl Marx, like most of his friends. There are a dozen things that he is more concerned about than dirty books."

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Kay Goodger writes in the Sept. 24 issue of Socialist Action, a newspaper from New Zealand, that "For probably the first time since the vote was won on Sept. 19, 1893, Woman Suffrage Day was commemorated in New Zealand." Demonstrations held in both Auckland and Wellington attracted many onlookers and good publicity in the press. The article includes interesting information on how the vote was won in New Zealand: "Woman Suffrage Day has been revived at last as a symbol of women's struggle for liberation. The vote was won after a long and difficult campaign by New Zealand women. At a peak of the activity, a petition was circulated which was signed by over 30,000 women, one-third of the female population. This was the biggest petition ever presented to a parliament in all Australasia, and indicates the broad support and involvement of women in the suffrage movement."

Yahya Khan, the president of Pakistan who is responsible for the genocidal slaughter of the people of Bangla Desh, made the following comment in an interview with the Paris daily *Le Figaro*: "I (Figaro correspondent) asked him (Khan): 'But if you meet Mrs. Indira Gandhi what would you say to her?'"

"He burst out laughing once more and replied: 'I will not meet her. She cannot bear the sight of me. But this does not embarrass me. Because she is neither a woman nor a Head of State by wanting to be both at once. . . . I would say to her: Shut up, woman, leave me alone and let my refugees come back.'" It is indicative of the depth of the prejudice against women that even women heads of state are treated with contempt by their male counterparts.

The Sept. 1, 1971 issue of the Library Journal, the most influential magazine oriented to librarians, is devoted to exploring the ideas of women's liberation. This is especially appropriate, since the librarian occupation has traditionally been seen as a "woman's job." Although 80 percent of librarians are female, 90 percent of library administrators are male. The magazine also points out that on the average, women librarians earn \$3,400 less than male librarians.

One of the main articles, written by Helen W. Tuttle, is on the special discrimination faced by women in academic libraries. Helen Tuttle says that as a librarian she is especially bothered by the way in which our language leaves out women—such as the use of "he" to

mean a generalized individual, or the use of "man" to mean humanity or human being. She suggests that language should be modified in a way "which will permit us to include all human beings in our generalized statements without suggesting male domination."

The Sept. 27 New York Post reported the results of a recent Gallup poll which found that 58 percent of American Catholics over 17 years old answered "yes" to the question: "Can a good Catholic ignore the Pope's condemnation of artificial birth control?" This poll shows the great potential for involving Catholic women in building the Nov. 20 March on Washington for repeal of all anti-abortion and anticontraception laws and for no forced sterilization.

The Democratic Party is planning a two-day women's conference for Oct. 5-6. The objectives of the conference, reported in the Sept. 24 New York Post, are: increasing the number of women delegates to the Democratic Party convention and the number of women candidates of the party; an increase in the number of women registered to vote as Democrats; and an increase in women who will campaign for the Democratic Party. This conference, like the approach of the Democratic Party in general, seems to be oriented to maximizing what women can do for the Democratic Party, rather than what the party can do for women. No mention is made in the Post article of whether this conference will discuss the position of the Democratic Party on issues being raised and fought for by the women's movement.

Dr. Sophia Kleegman, a gynecologist who helped discover the "Pap" smear test for cervical cancer, herself died of cancer Sept. 26. She worked with Dr. George Papnicolau, who first discovered the Pap smear test, and then went on herself to develop the usefulness of this test in diagnosing disease. She was the first woman professor at the New York University School of Medicine, and the first woman named to the staff of New York's Bellevue Hospital. She gave lectures on sex, sex education and birth control. Dr. Kleegman felt "outraged that the medical profession was taking absolutely no responsibility for sad young women who kept having children they didn't want."

— CAROLINE LUND

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The following are major excerpts from an interview with John Thorne, George Jackson's attorney. The interview was obtained by Militant reporters Michael Schreiber and Norton Sandler Sept. 23.

George Jackson was murdered by San Quentin prison guards Aug. 21 in what the prison officials claimed was an escape attempt. Jackson, author of the widely acclaimed "Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson," began serving a one-year-to-life prison term 11 years ago for allegedly stealing \$70.

Jackson was one of the "Soledad Brothers," three Black inmates charged with killing a white prison guard at Soledad Prison in January 1970. The two surviving Soledad Brothers, John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo, still face trial for this charge. In addition, Drumgo, along with six others, was charged with murder for allegedly killing the guards in the Aug. 21 shoot-out at San Quentin that cost Jackson his life.

Militant: What is your present function in the Soledad case?

Thorne: Well, at the present time we have pending a request that the case against George Jackson proceed or that the district attorney dismiss the case with the statement that George Jackson was innocent. After this is over, I will make myself available to the attorneys defending John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo to do anything they might want in the way of assistance.

Militant: How has the state been hampering your defense actions?

Thorne: When the case started in Monterey County, the judge issued a gag rule which said we could not discuss the case at all. We could not talk about any of the witnesses or about the innocence of any of the defendants. This was very hampering in that all the press had been issued by the prison officials from Soledad. The fact that all of that press was bad and against the defendants is clearly shown by the evidence we produced at the time we made a motion for a change of venue from Monterey County to San Francisco County. The professors and students at the University of California at Santa Cruz made a magnificent study of Monterey County. We found that 85 percent of the individuals who had heard about the case and made a decision had decided that the defendants were guilty. The publicity that had come out prior to the first appearance in court, when the anti-publicity order was issued, had done its job and programmed the community against us.

We asked, as is the right of the defendant, to talk to the only witnesses, the men in Y wing in Soledad Prison, and the judge said we couldn't go in until a plea had been entered. We said we couldn't instruct the defendants on what kind of plea to enter until we had made an investigation of the case.

We finally had the defendants stand mute, and the judge entered a plea of not guilty for them, as he is required to do under the law.

Then we ran into the problem of his trying to get the trial to court almost instantly. We had 200 witnesses who had to be interviewed in depth. Their stories had to be correlated and that takes an immense amount of time. We also needed to have the adverse witnesses examined. We finally made a motion for a continuance of the trial date.

At the time of the motion, we brought down a psychiatrist who was on the staff of Stanford University Hospital Medical School. He testified—and this was in May 1970—that for him to do a job of examining the adverse witnesses and to find out whether they had been coerced or were pathological liars would take a minimum of three months.

We likewise produced a sociologist who testified that to study the jury patterns in Monterey County and to determine whether jury selection was fair would take three weeks. But to do that, he needed a copy of the 1970 census, which wasn't available until July.

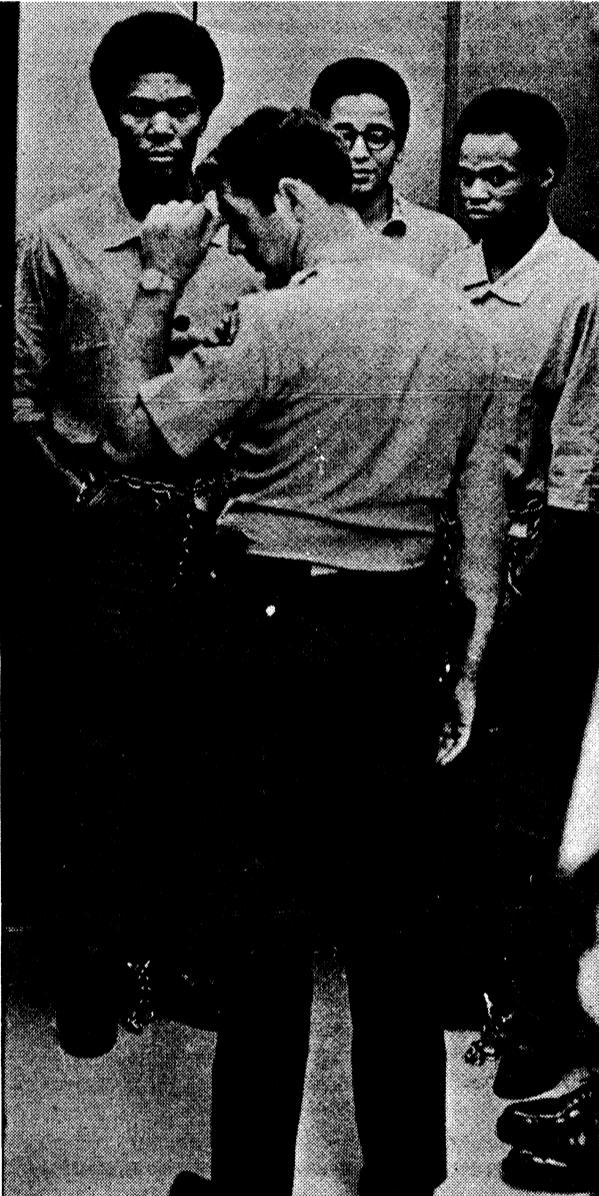
At the conclusion of that and other testimony, the judge asked the district attorney if he had anything to offer, and the district attorney said no. Then he asked the district attorney if he had anything to say and the district attorney stood up and said: "We oppose the motion."

With that the judge said, "I don't think there is any reason to continue the case. Motion denied."

That's typical of the kinds of problems we were running into all the way.

We also had the problem of a bullet-proof shield being erected in the case against these brothers when there isn't one word in the record of any violence occurring in the courtroom initiated by

Interview with George Jackson's attorney



George Jackson (center) with John Cluchette (left) and Fleeta Drumgo (right) in chains after session of frame-up trial as cops take them back to their cages.

any of the defendants or any of the spectators, not one word of testimony to that effect. We said we saw no way that a fair trial could take place behind a shield because it would obviously be intimidating to any jury. During the Charles Manson trial, there were reportedly threats against the jury by members of the Manson family, but no such shield was erected.

The three defendants in the Soledad trial were Black and all of the defendants in the Manson case were white. These were the kinds of problems we had. Of course, there are many, many more.

Militant: About 10 days before Jackson's death, he said he thought he was going to be killed. Did he express this to you?

Thorne: Well, George had told me on many occasions that there have been attempts on his life, and that people have been asked to set him up—other inmates. As you know, we released the other day the affidavit of Alan Mancino, which indicated that when he was in Soledad, he was asked to set George up and kill him. He had been ap-

roached by the captain of the guards there, according to this declaration he signed under penalty of perjury. And I think it should be pointed out that this declaration was obtained in March 1971, not after but before George was killed. We had other similar kinds of information. George was a man who had eyes all around his head. He never knew when an attack would come.

Militant: Did you think he would win before he died?

Thorne: The last time I saw George was the Monday prior to Aug. 21 and that was at a meeting of Angela Davis, Margaret Burnham—one of Angela Davis' attorneys—myself, and George. I told George something that I have never told a defendant in a criminal case before in my whole life. I think it's generally bad to tell a client that a case is an absolute winner. But that's what I told George. I told him on that Monday that I saw absolutely no way that the case would be lost.

Militant: Why do you think the state wanted to kill George Jackson?

Thorne: The question assumes that I think the state had wanted to kill him. I can only tell you that the facts handed out by the state don't jibe at all with any idea that George Jackson was trying to escape. It's very clear that we have to have an independent investigation.

Militant: How would this investigation be composed, in your opinion?

Thorne: There is one being put together by Governor Reagan, but I wouldn't trust that investigatory committee any farther than I could pick up the state of California and throw it.

The only way I can see that you can put together a commission to investigate this is a commission of the type that was headed up by Ramsey Clark, who just issued his investigation of the Fred Hampton murder in Chicago. The first day we were in court after Aug. 21 (the date Jackson was killed), I asked that the judge call upon all Black congressmen and congresswomen and the Black legislators in California either to form themselves into a commission of inquiry or to select a commission of inquiry.

Militant: Do you see an advantage in having prisoners or ex-prisoners on such a commission?

Thorne: Well I think this would be an advantage. In the first place, the communication that goes on between prisoners is quite different than the way they do it outside. We had actually made a motion in court on Aug. 26 to have the jury composed of prisoners on the grounds that the methods by which prisoners communicate is so different from that on the outside that no one would understand, that a jury on the outside would not be able to tell who was lying and who wasn't. So yes, very definitely, having prisoners and ex-prisoners on such a body would be a very good thing.

Militant: What is Stephen Bingham's relationship to the case and to George Jackson?

Thorne: I met Steve Bingham only once, at a meeting of the National Lawyers Guild, and I talked to him a couple of times on the phone. Because George (Jackson) was quite well known, the minute a lawyer would get a letter from him, they would rush in there to see him, which was only proper. When they got in there, George would say, "My friend in here needs a lawyer. Will you take his case?"

Steve was one of the persons George had written to. I believe he was working on the cases of one or two men who were in the prison.

Militant: Do you think that with the new autopsy reports the authorities will attempt to silence new information by brutality and punishment inside the prison?

Thorne: Cluchette said the first day we were in court that George was not shot once but twice and that he wasn't killed by the first bullet.

Look at the first story they had. They said the gun was smuggled in on a tour bus. Then it was changed to having been smuggled in by a young lawyer. They first stated George sneaked it into the adjustment center in his hair, and then when they found out how racist that statement was, namely that a Black natural will not permit a gun to be hidden in it, they changed it to a stocking cap, and then they changed it to a wig.

Continued on page 22

¡La Raza en Acción!



New group formed—In the aftermath of the massacre of rebelling Attica prisoners, some 50 Puerto Ricans, including some holding government and civic posts, have formed a new group to determine the "resources, problems and needs of Spanish-speaking inmates."

The group, according to the Sept. 23 *New York Times*, estimates that at least 20 percent of the Attica inmates are Spanish-speaking. They have called on Governor Rockefeller to order "immediate implementation of the inmates' suggested reforms."

"The greatest tragedy," the group is quoted as saying, was that "so many lives were lost over reforms so easily implemented." Chairman of the new group is Eric Arroyo of the Morningside Renewal Council.

8,000 rally in San José—The third annual Chicano Liberation Day held on el 16 de septiembre (Mexican Independence Day) at San José State's Spartan Stadium drew some 8,000 Chicanos.

Among the speakers at the rally was Antonio del Buono, who lambasted Santa Clara County Sheriff James Geary for his racist remarks in the Aug. 25, 1971, *San José Mercury* to the effect that violence in the barrio was the fault of Chicano parents who lack control over their children. Del Buono declared that all the violence was the fault of "the racist educational system and the law enforcement agencies." He then challenged Sheriff Geary to a public debate.

Other speakers included Sonny Madrid, who called on everyone to help build La Raza Unida Party, and Angie Martinez, a Chicana activist in San José. Martinez explained that Raza women wanted equality and freedom and that they were not only "beautiful, but powerful."

"We might have to give them jobs too!"—A Sept. 26 UPI dispatch from Washington reports that Rep. Henry B. Gonzales (D-Texas) asked the Internal Revenue Service about putting out a Spanish edition of tax form 1040 for the income tax return.

James N. Kinsel, chairman of the agency's tax-form division, replied that "practical difficulties" make this impossible. Besides the typical answer that if they did it for Spanish, many other languages "might have to be given this treatment," Kinsel had the following excuse:

"Another [problem] stems from our processing and audit activities, and the possible need to employ large numbers of bilingual technicians."

A Chicano college president—Dr. Frank Angel Jr., 57, former professor of educational administration and assistant dean of the College of Education at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, was appointed earlier this year to be the first Chicano president of New Mexico's Highlands University.

The appointment came after a series of demonstrations by students—54 percent of whom are Raza—earlier this spring. According to Anthony Ripley, writing in the Sept. 19 *New York Times*, "Chicanos living on the west side viewed it [Highlands University] as an institution that ignored community needs and as an Anglo monument that downgraded Chicanos. They said Dr. Donnelly [president for 18 years] was running a 'private country club.'"

When the university attempted to appoint another Anglo, Dr. Charles Graham of Wisconsin State University, students protested, sending cables and delegations to tell Graham not to bother showing up. The protest became so widespread in Las Vegas, N.M., where the school is located, that even Donald A. Martinez, district attorney and president of the West Las Vegas School Board, filed a lawsuit charging that the appointment had been made illegally in a secret meet-

ing of the Regents. Martinez then gave high school students time off to join the protest demonstrations.

The appointment, while an important victory, remains only a token concession. The *Times* reports that only five of the 130 faculty members are Chicano, and that aside from Dr. Angel the administration is all-Anglo.

Dr. Angel stated, according to the *Times*, that the university must take an interest in the community around it and its needs, but that he does not agree with "the extreme minorities" who the *Times* contends "would secede from the United States and join Mexico." Dr. Angel further stated, "Whatever destiny the Chicanos may have to get a larger bite of the pie in this nation must come from within the system." Unfortunately, *el buen doctor* [the good doctor] forgets that it was mass pressure outside the system which got him his job in the first place.

El Día de La Raza—Oct. 12 is celebrated throughout Latin America and even in the Southwest in commemoration of *El Día de La Raza*, the day Cristóbal Colón [Columbus] stumbled upon the West Indies. Anglos celebrate this day as "Columbus Day."

It is worth while remembering what this day meant to the indigenous inhabitants of America. On the island of Hispaniola [Haiti and the Dominican Republic] Columbus and his men decimated the so-called Indians. Through overwork, abuse, starvation, despair and disease, the original population of the island dwindled from 300,000 in 1492 to an actual count of 60,000 in 1508. Only a remnant of 500 survived by 1548. (*Genocide Against the Indians* by George Novack. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, N.Y., N.Y., 10014. 50 cents.)

The Spaniards continued from there onto Cuba, Mexico and Peru, repeating the same atrocities. It is estimated that Tenochtitlán [Mexico City] had upwards of 300,000 inhabitants and that 25 million native peoples populated the central valley of Mexico. Within a 50-year period after the arrival of Cortez, this population dropped from 25 million to about 4 million. In 1646 it reached a low point of 1.25 million. While many celebrate the birth of *La Raza Cósmica*, the Mestizo, it should never be forgotten that this came about through the subjugation and oppression of the Aztecs, Mayas, Incas and many others.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO



Caricature of the arrival of Columbus in Cuba by Mexican political satirist RIUS. (From *Cuba for Beginners*, Pathfinder Press.)

Chicano inmates host meeting

By AL BALDIVIA

The Latin American Development Society (LADS), an inmate group at the Colorado State Penitentiary, recently hosted a *Concilio de Unidad* (Council of Unity), a two-day conference for the specific purpose of bringing together and uniting the various Chicano groups in Colorado.

Four hundred people attended the gathering, including representatives from 75 Chicano organizations. Among those represented were the Crusade for Justice, the Colorado *Partido de la Raza Unida*, various chapters of UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) and MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), as well as many other groups involved in the struggle for Chicano liberation.

The *concilio* was addressed by José Gaitán, an inmate at the penitentiary; State Senator Roger Cisneros (D); Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairman of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party; and Al Gurulé, a leader in the Raza Unida Party from Pueblo, Colo. Gurulé was

the party's gubernatorial candidate in 1970.

This unique conference held workshops centered around the areas of key concern to La Raza—crime, education, youth, unemployment, the need for unity, and *la Chicana*. A series of resolutions was passed to deal with the specific problems of the *pintos* (inmates). Among these were the following: the formation of a civilian parole board; legislative aid in helping inmates to get their sentences commuted; inmate work-release programs which would aid convicts in finding and maintaining a job when released; a Chicano college within the prison walls to teach *pintos* about their true history and the Chicano movement outside; counseling to aid the inmate, using outside resource people.

This conference registered the depth to which Chicano nationalism has penetrated the prisons of this country. The increasing number of Chicano inmate newspapers and groups is a further indication of the politicalization of Raza prisoners.

Upon a return visit to the penitentiary four days later, I had the opportunity to interview Alfredo Archer, president of LADS. I asked him a series of questions ranging from problems in the prison, to the antiwar and women's liberation movements. His answers indicated a keen awareness of what was happening on the outside.

"Prisoners should form into one nationwide union," he said. "We are fighting the same system."

Some of the special problems Archer referred to within prison were, "racism,

unjust sentencing, poor medical treatment, the number of disciplinary reports written," and the fact that "the commutation board acts against us."

On women's liberation: "We, the Chicano *pinto*, feel that women should intensify their struggle . . . that they should utilize their total potential."

On Nov. 6 and the antiwar movement: "I feel they [Chicanos] should march as Chicanos. We should align ourselves with anything that helps us fight. Whenever an issue arises that affects Chicanos, we should be involved."

Texas Raza Unida prepares for '72

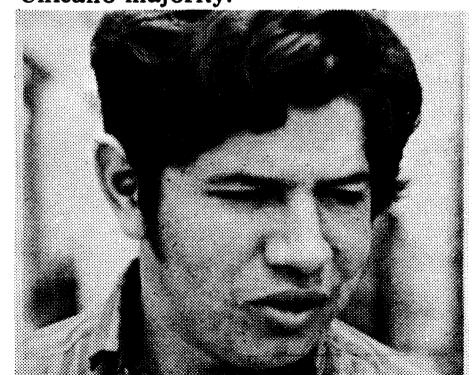
By ANTONIO CAMEJO

The Sept. 25 issue of *Ya Mero*, a Spanish-language biweekly, published in McAllen, Texas, reports that La Raza Unida Party there is preparing for a statewide conference to be held in San Antonio Oct. 31, 1971.

Jesús Ramírez, a LRUP organizer in San Juan, Texas, told *Ya Mero* in an interview that "neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have solu-

tions for the problems of the Mexican-American in the state of Texas. . . ." Mapping out some of the strategy for La Raza Unida Party in South Texas, he pointed out that "although we recognize that *mexicanos* constitute a minority in this state—about 15 percent of the inhabitants—we also know that there are regions where we are the majority, and we intend to gain the political power which has been denied our people for so many years."

Ramírez stated that the first stage of organizing the party statewide would be to hold local precinct meetings where county delegates would be elected. Each precinct will elect five representatives to a county meeting from which the representatives will be chosen for the statewide gathering. According to the interview, there will definitely be county conventions in Hidalgo and Cameron, and possibly in Willacy and Starr counties as well. These four counties make up the southern tip of Texas. Altogether there are some 26 Texas counties with a Chicano majority.



Jesús Ramírez

Photo by Mirta Vidal

Prison revolts, protest rallies spread

The Attica prison rebellion has sparked uprisings by prisoners across the country as well as continuing protest meetings and demonstrations by supporters of prisoners' rights.

• All inmates at the state prison in Walpole, Mass., were locked in their cells on Oct. 5 after a successful work stoppage by inmates forced officials to deal seriously with their demands. A simultaneous work stoppage was launched by 700 prisoners in the state prison at Norfolk. Inmates in both prisons called for the resignation of State Prison Commissioner John J. Fitzpatrick, for the right to earlier pa-

role, the right to conjugal visits, the right to make telephone calls and other demands. In negotiating with prison authorities, representatives of the inmates at Norfolk discovered a budget discrepancy of \$12,000 between the amount the prison officials were receiving for the prison school and the amount being spent on the school.

Meanwhile, at the state prison in Concord, Mass., 400 of the 677 inmates staged a peaceful demonstration Sept. 23, an event the *Boston Globe* called "unparalleled in American penal history." Many of the inmates carried signs saying "We are human."

Under the impact of these massive prisoners' protests, officials have ordered an end to all censorship of prisoners' mail in Massachusetts prisons.

• The Oct. 6 *New York Times* reported a revolt by 500 prisoners in a Dallas, Texas, prison on Oct. 4, and a prisoners' grievance meeting with the warden at Lehigh County Prison in Allentown, Pa., the same day.

• A rebellion took place at the Illinois State Penitentiary in Pontiac, Ill., Oct. 2. The warden told the Oct. 4 *New York Times* that 75 percent of the prisoners were Black and the average age of inmates was 19.

• Prisoners in the State Prison at Windsor, Vt., succeeded through a work stoppage in winning commissary privileges and hot water in their cells. About 140 prisoners were involved

in the strike, the Oct. 4 *New York Times* reported.

• In New Bedford, Mass., some 100 out of a total of 111 inmates staged a demonstration for better conditions.

• On Sept. 20, women prisoners at the Federal Reformatory in Alderson, W. Va., were tear gassed while attempting to hold a memorial service for those murdered at Attica.

• A struggle has been launched by Native Americans in Sisseton, S. D., who charge that Indians are put in jail for drunkenness and then used by farmers in the area as slave laborers.

In addition to being hired out to local farmers for \$8 a day, jail inmates are made to work on the town garbage truck. A white man always drives the truck, and Native-American prisoners have to pick up the garbage.

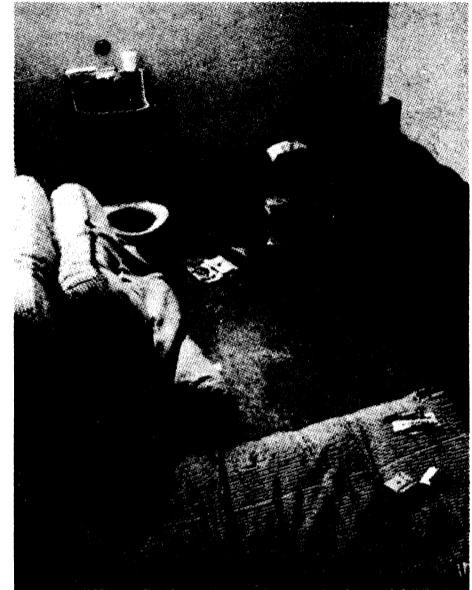
The Native-American community has drawn up a list of demands, which were presented by Grady Renville, a young Vietnam war veteran in charge of the tribal rehabilitation program for alcoholics. The demands included the removal of the police chief who runs the jail, cleaner conditions in the cells, balanced meals and a radio for the inmates. The Native Americans also asked that people from the tribal alcoholic program be allowed to pick up intoxicated Native Americans and bring them home to prevent their being charged and jailed for drunkenness.

• Some 2,000 persons gathered at Kenosha Park in Danbury, Conn., Oct. 2 in support of prisoners' demands. As they rallied, about 300 prisoners inside the Federal Correctional Institution several miles away held a memorial service for inmates and guards killed in the Attica massacre. Prison officials reported that 500 inmates had also refused breakfast and lunch that day.

• The Oct. 3 *Chicago Sun-Times* reported a rally of 400 outside the Cook County Jail Oct. 2. The Attica memorial rally was sponsored by a coalition of 15 groups. Another protest took place at the federal penitentiary in Sandstone, Minn.

• At the University of California at Berkeley, 350 students attended a "Remember Attica" meeting sponsored by the Militant Forum. The three featured speakers were Pat Wood, recording secretary of Local 9, United Prisoners Union of San Francisco; "Pop-eye" Jackson, president of Local 9; and Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant* who was in Attica at the time of the assault.

• On Sept. 30, the Tucson, Ariz., Young Socialist Alliance held a meeting attended by 50 on Attica and the Arizona State Penitentiary at Florence. Louis Galvan, a Chicano former prisoner at Florence, and Emmitt Brown of the Black People's Community Organization spoke at the meeting.



Three-man cell in Florida prison

Attica inmate leader killed after assault

By CAROLINE LUND

Information recently disclosed to the press indicates that one of the main leaders of the Attica prison revolt—and possibly others—was deliberately singled out and murdered by prison authorities after the assault by state troopers was over and the revolt had been crushed.

Arthur O. Eve, a Black state assemblyman from Buffalo, testified Oct. 5 before a U.S. district court hearing that he saw the prisoner leader Elliott Barkley (who was known as "L. D.") alive after the assault on the rebel prisoners. The purpose of the hearing, reported the Oct. 5 *New York Post*, was to investigate charges by inmates that they were being physically mistreated and that their constitutional rights had been abused since the crushing of the revolt.

The Sept. 30 *New York Post* related a statement by the mother of an Attica inmate that her son had told her L. D. had been shot and killed

by state troopers after the assault as he was lying wounded, face down on the ground in the prison courtyard. The inmate's mother, who asked that her name be withheld, told the press that her son had told her, "You tell the truth, ma." Also, she stated, "He said that the state troopers shot everywhere at everybody . . . everybody—they just shot and shot and shot."

More than 200 visitors were allowed inside Attica Sept. 29 for the first visiting period since the rebellion was crushed Sept. 13, and many of them left the prison crying because of the brutal treatment of their relatives and friends inside Attica. The visitors told reporters that all prisoners' personal property had been destroyed, and that their watches, eye glasses and dentures had been taken and stomped on. Dorothy Trimmer of Buffalo told the *New York Times* Sept. 29 that her son Wayne had been "savagely beaten" around the genitals and elsewhere, and

had been forced to walk over broken glass.

This was the first time the inmates could be heard from—even though indirectly—because newsmen have been barred from interviewing Attica prisoners.

At a federal court hearing investigating treatment of rebel prisoners, Prison Superintendent Vincent Mancusi testified that all the leaders of the revolt, who were photographed during the rebellion at the negotiating table inside the prison, have been placed in isolation. Attempting to justify this step, Mancusi said, "I believed that if they were around the table, they were active participants."

Assemblyman Richard Gottfried interviewed participants in the Attica revolt who had been transferred to the Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, N.Y., and stated that the prison was like a "political concentration camp." The Sept. 30 *New York Post* quoted him as saying: "I spoke

to all these so-called hard core revolutionaries. Many were apparently there only for being friends of activists. After being locked in stripped-down cells, many were taken out and beaten. Then they were tear gassed while locked in their cells."

Lawyers for the Attica inmates asked U.S. Supreme Court Judge Thurgood Marshall Oct. 5 for an injunction to stop state interrogation of prisoners until they could all consult with lawyers. The lawyers have presented evidence to show that prisoners are being beaten with clubs "in a continuing pattern of assaults and threats." The lawyers contend that state officials are violating the Constitution by not allowing the prisoners to have a lawyer with them during interrogation and not informing them that they can remain silent.

The case before Judge Marshall is an appeal; the prisoners' initial request for an injunction was denied by a lower federal court.

Rebellion of prisoners is international

By JEAN WALKER

Inspired by the power of the mass prisoners' revolt at Attica, inmates in prisons around the world are rising up to demand treatment as human beings. Just as the student movement, the movement against the war in Vietnam, and most recently the women's liberation movement, have spread around the world, so too is the prison revolt becoming an international phenomenon.

• According to a report in the Oct. 3 *New York Times*, only days before the Attica massacre British prisoners at Dartmoor made public an appeal for an investigation of conditions at Dartmoor prison. "The situation is now worse than ever," they wrote.

Many men after reading the latest accounts of incidents in prison and hearing them on the radio are ready for action. The situation is coming to a head as it seems only militant action can bring results."

The British prisoners' appeal protests the conduct of the guards. It asserts that "constant emphasis is placed on pettiness, i.e., 'take your hands out of your pocket, button your jacket up, get your hair cut,'" and that this sort of verbal abuse is used to provoke the prisoners.

At Dartmoor, one-third of the inmates are confined in cells that were built for one inmate but are filled with two or three. Half the inmates live in buildings that are more than 100 years old.

There are 40,000 prisoners in England and Wales, and prisoners' uprisings have recently taken place in Albany and Parkhurst prisons as well as in jails in Liverpool and Bristol.

• Liberation News Service reported Oct. 2 that Palestinian guerrillas held prisoner in Ashqelon, Israel, had revolted after hearing radio reports of prison uprisings in the U.S., France and Italy. A prison spokesman stated that the revolt was put down in about three hours.

• In France, police blasted their way into the hospital of the high-security prison in Clairvaux Sept. 22 and captured two convicts. The prisoners had taken two hostages and

were demanding freedom. It was reported that the two hostages were killed, but this information came only from prison authorities, since no outside observers were allowed in the prison.

Prof. Michel Foucault of the College de France, a prominent advocate of "prison reform," was quoted in the Sept. 23 *New York Times* as saying that French prisons were "among the most backward and cruel in the Western world." Until only two weeks ago, for instance, prisoners at Clairvaux have been prohibited from subscribing to any newspapers whatsoever. Now anything but "bland weeklies" is still banned, the *Times* says. All radio and television is also banned.

McGovern dodges debate with Jenness

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK, Oct. 4—Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, today sharply criticized Senator George McGovern for backing out of a debate with her at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. McGovern's decision to dodge a confrontation with the socialist candidate came as Jenness and her running mate Andrew Pulley moved into their first full week of national tours. Jenness and Pulley have received extensive press coverage and enthusiastic receptions on campuses in the Midwest and the South.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Youth for McGovern on the Madison campus had arranged a debate for Oct. 2, when both candidates were scheduled to appear on campus. When asked by newsmen about plans for the debate, McGovern had only two words: "I decline." McGovern's refusal was reported in several Wisconsin papers in an AP dispatch from Milwaukee.

At a news conference in Madison this morning, Jenness said, "McGovern ducked out of this one, but from now on, everywhere he goes—on every campus—there will be students demanding that he debate me. I assure you that McGovern will be forced to debate me before this campaign is over. There are millions of young new voters who are disgusted with the policies of the Democratic Party, and Senator McGovern is going to have a hard time trying to justify himself to these young people."

Jenness' meeting in Madison was attended by 250 people. "It's getting harder and harder to fool the American people," she told the enthusiastic crowd, "because the lies of this government are coming out—the Attica lies, the George Jackson lies, the continuing lies about the criminal war in Vietnam.

"The Pentagon papers exposed decades of lies by both Democratic and Republican administrations. The Pentagon papers proved that the Democrats and Republicans collaborated not only in carrying out the slaughter in Vietnam, but they also conspired to hide the facts from the American people. George McGovern, the Democratic 'peace candidate', knew all about the Pentagon papers, as did Fulbright and many others. But they never told the American people the truth!"

At the finish of her talk, many members of the audience stopped by the McGovern meeting. McGovern was asked from the floor why he had refused the invitation from Jenness. He replied to the 1,000 persons present, "I understand that Linda Jenness is the nominee of your party, but I don't yet have the nomination of my party, so it wouldn't be appropriate."

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley passed out campaign literature and signed up almost 50 people who were interested in the SWP campaign.

Jenness began her national tour in Minneapolis. At a widely covered news conference Sept. 28 she said, "It is fitting I open my campaign in Minneapolis since Mayor Charles Stenvig is launching a one-man crusade against the Socialist Workers Party." Stenvig had unsuccessfully tried to stop a City Council resolution declaring Nov. 6 "Peace Action Day," making the red-baiting charge that the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition was dominated by the SWP.

Jenness taped six radio interviews and appeared on a live one-half hour interview show on KMSP-TV during her stay in Minneapolis. In addition, she addressed over 300 students in meetings at Mankato State College, Augsburg College and the University of Minnesota. Twenty-five campaign supporters signed up to participate in the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Local press and radio attended the campaign meeting at Mankato and Jenness' talk was aired live. Her Minneapolis tour culminated in a meeting attended by over 100 campaign supporters at the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

Jenness will continue her tour of the midwest region with stops at Oshkosh and Milwaukee, Wis.; and Monmouth, DeKalb, Champaign and Carbondale, Ill.

Meanwhile, Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, has been touring the South, with his first stop in Atlanta. His tour began with a live radio interview on WYZE, an all-news station. Portions of his interview were taped and played back throughout the day. On Sept. 30, Pulley addressed meetings at Georgia State University and at Morris Brown College, a predominantly Black school.

The next day, Pulley appeared at a news conference with Alice Conner, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Georgia. Both Pulley and Conner received news coverage about their plans to make the struggle of prisoners for full civil and human rights a part of their campaigns.

Pulley also met with representatives of the Black Workers Congress in Atlanta and spoke at the Militant Bookstore Forum that evening.

Pulley was present at the Oct. 2 Southern regional antiwar conference in Atlanta, attended by over 100 antiwar activists from as far away as Florida and Tennessee.

On Oct. 5, Pulley is scheduled to speak in Nashville at Peabody High School and Vanderbilt University. The following day he will be at Fisk University in Nashville, where the student government is trying to arrange a debate between Pulley and Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), who is also scheduled to speak that day.

Pulley's tour of the South will continue with meetings planned at Agnes Scott College, an all-women's school in Decatur, Ga.; the University of South Florida in Tampa; Florida State University and Florida A & M University in Tallahassee; the University of Georgia at Athens; University of South Carolina in Columbia; and Knoxville State College and the University of Tennessee in Knoxville.

Pulley also plans to make fact-finding visits to the Stone Mountain State Prison Branch in Stone Mountain, Ga., (a former chain-gang prison) and the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta, where prisoners recently staged a two-day demonstration protesting censorship and overcrowding.

Pulley also plans to visit Ft. Jackson, S.C., where in 1969 he had been active in the GIs United Against the War. Pulley was one of the defendants in the case of the Ft. Jackson Eight and served 60 days in the stockade before a massive public defense campaign won his release and discharge from the Army.

YSJP leaders begin fall speaking tours

OCT. 4—Cindy Jaquith, one of the national coordinators of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, began her fall speaking tour in the Northwest. One hundred students turned out Sept. 28 to hear her at Skagit Valley College in Mt. Vernon, Wash., at a meeting sponsored by the Associated Student Body. Jaquith also spoke at meetings at the University of Washington and at Seattle Central Community College, and taped five-and-one-half hours of radio time on stations KRAB, KISW and KOL (all FM).

In Portland, Ore., Jaquith appeared for two and one-half hours on KPOK's radio talk show "Night Line." She was originally scheduled for 25 minutes, but the show was deluged by so many phone calls that her appearance was extended. Most of the discussion centered around the abortion issue and

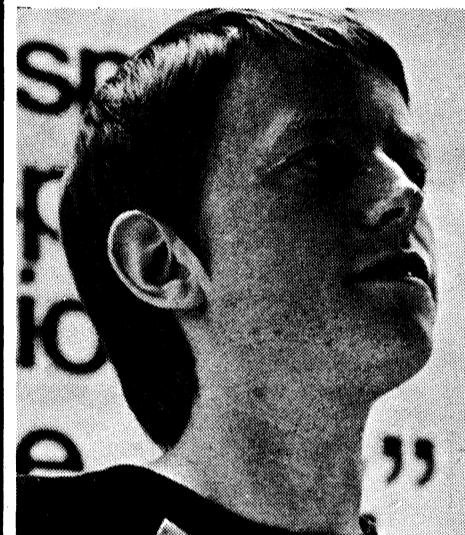


Photo by Ron Payne

Cindy Jaquith

the necessity of repealing all abortion laws. Jaquith emphasized the importance of the Nov. 20 demonstrations planned for Washington, D.C. and San Francisco to demand repeal of all antiabortion laws.

John Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, who is also a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, begins a speaking tour this week in the New York area. Hawkins will address meetings at New York University, Queens College, Columbia University and Brooklyn College. He will also travel to upstate New York where he will speak at Harpur College in Binghamton and New Paltz State College. Hawkins' next stop will be in the New England area, where he plans to speak with inmates at the Massachusetts Correctional Institute at Norfolk.

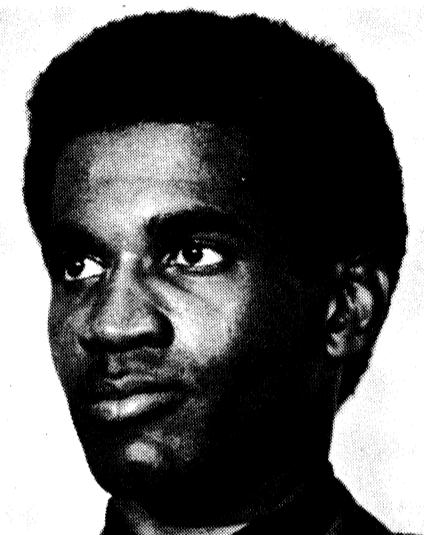


Photo by Howard Petrick

John Hawkins

Campaign schedule

The following meetings had been scheduled at Militant press time.

LINDA JENNESS

Sat., Oct. 9 St. Louis, Mo.
Mon., Oct. 11 Bloomington, Ind.
Tues., Oct. 12 Chicago (news conference, Civic Center Plaza Rally, media interviews, talk shows)

Wed., Oct. 13 Chicago Moratorium Rallies

1:30 p.m. Roosevelt U
7:30 p.m. Northwestern U
Thurs., Oct. 14 Chicago
1:00 p.m. U of Illinois, Circle Campus
3:30 p.m. U of Chicago
8:00 p.m. Fund Raising Party — Harpur Gallery

Fri., Oct. 15 Chicago
9:30 a.m. Cook County Jail Tour

12 noon Elmhurst Campus Meeting
7:30 p.m. City-wide SWP Campaign Rally and Party — Loop YWCA 37 S. Wabash

ANDREW PULLEY

Sat., Oct. 9 Sparta, Ga.; U of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.; Ft. Jackson, S.C.
Sun., Oct. 10 U of Tennessee, Knoxville State College
Mon., Oct. 11 Tulane U, Louisiana State U — New Orleans, La.
Tues., Oct. 12 Louisiana State U, Baton Rouge, La.
Wed., Oct. 13 Houston (news conference, radio shows)

12:00 noon	San Jacinto Jr. College
2:45 p.m.	Worthing H.S. Rally
3:45 p.m.	Rice U Moratorium Rally
5:00 p.m.	City-wide Moratorium Rally — City Hall
7:30 p.m.	Texas Southern U
Thurs., Oct. 14 Houston	
10:00 a.m.	Sam Houston State College, Huntsville, Texas
2:45 p.m.	Yates H.S. Rally
4:00 p.m.	St. Thomas College
8:00 p.m.	U of Houston (to be broadcast live by Pacifica Radio)
Fri., Oct. 15	Houston
10:00 a.m.	Houston City Jail visit
12:00 noon	S.W. Texas Community College
2:45 p.m.	Austin H.S. (outdoor rally)
8:00 p.m.	Militant Labor Forum — 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas
Sat., Oct. 16	Crystal City, Texas
Sun., Oct. 17	Norman, Okla.
Mon., Oct. 18	Dallas-Ft. Worth — North Texas State, Denton; Southern Methodist U, Dallas; U of Texas, Arlington

For further information on the candidates' tours, write: Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, 8th Floor, New York, N.Y., 10003; or call (212) 260-4150.

Pentagon Papers

Vietnamese revolution and antiwar movement caught U.S. warmakers in vise



This is the sixth and final article in a series of articles on the top-secret Pentagon papers revealed by the New York Times. The series is reviewing the history of the Indochina war and the Militant's coverage of that war.

By DICK ROBERTS

Antiwar sentiment rapidly deepened in this country in the fall and winter of 1966. The Johnson administration ordered more and more bombing attacks against Vietnam—North and South—and ordered more and more troops into battle.

But the growth of the antiwar movement and the powerful resistance of the Vietnamese people combined to erect an insurmountable obstacle to Washington's plans of drowning the Indochinese revolution in blood.

The horrifying truth about the consequences of the war in Vietnam began to creep into the pages of the capitalist press. A New York Times war correspondent, Neil Sheehan, wrote on Oct. 9, 1966, "I have sometimes thought, when a street urchin with sores covering his leg, stopped me

and begged for a few cents' worth of Vietnamese piastres, that he might be better off growing up as a political commissar. He would then at least have some self respect."

Sheehan dismissed the official lies about the "pacification" program: "Promises of reform are solemnly reported in the American press and are apparently taken with some seriousness in Washington. I have often wondered why, since the promises are never carried out. . . .

"Hamlets are habitually bombed and shelled at the request of a South Vietnamese province or district chief who has been told by some paid informer that Communist troops are present there. . . . American officials excuse the practice by claiming that the Vietnamese, as the legal authorities, have the right to destroy their own hamlets, even if Americans perform the destructive acts. . . .

"Most refugees I have questioned told me that the Vietcong taxed them and made them work harder than usual, but they could live with the

Communists. They left their homes, they said, because they could no longer bear American and South Vietnamese bombs and shells."

Then in the last few days of 1966, the *Times* exposed Washington's lies about the bombing of North Vietnam. Writing from Hanoi, *New York Times* Managing Editor Harrison E. Salisbury described the extensive bomb wreckage of North Vietnamese cities and towns, including air strikes against the suburbs of Hanoi, and the destruction of hospitals.

For 18 months, Washington had been bombing North Vietnam under the pretense of hitting only "military targets." The Salisbury revelations rocked the country. A typical reaction appeared in the editorial columns of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*: "The credibility gap yawns wider. . . . The government is waging a war of steel and fire in Vietnam. It should not treat the American people as a second adversary, to be kept at bay with a smoke screen of distortion and soothing syrup."

On Nov. 26, a month before these *Times* revelations, a meeting of antiwar forces in Cleveland established the "Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam." The 180 delegates in Cleveland represented more than 70 national and local organizations opposed to the war.

One month later, Dec. 28-30, the student wing of the antiwar movement held its first national conference in Chicago. More than 50 different colleges and high schools were represented, as well as SDS, the DuBois Clubs, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The 211 participants voted to support national actions in New York and San Francisco called for April 15 by the Spring Mobilization Committee. They formed the "Student Mobilization Committee"—which was later to grow into the largest student antiwar organization in the country.

There was a terrific escalation of antiwar activity, penetrating campuses and communities previously uninvolved in the fight against the war. Leading civil rights organizations, including Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, participated in building for April 15. A few trade unionists were also active as well as the first sprinkling of antiwar GIs.

This work culminated in the massive New York and San Francisco demonstrations April 15, 1967. The New York action was described by *Militant* staff writer Harry Ring:

"April 15 was an historic day. A relatively small group of individuals and organizations armed with a correct idea and a correct assessment of the political temper of the country organized the biggest antiwar demonstration this city or country has ever seen. The fantastic outpouring showed there is massive opposition to the war and a significant growth of radicalism.

"It is now clear that nearly half a million people participated in the demonstration. . . . Dr. Martin Luther King [who was one of the demonstration leaders] said it was bigger than the giant civil rights March on Washington of 1963. And it could be added that, unlike the Washington march, this mobilization didn't have the support of the government but was in fact directed against it."

In San Francisco, the April 15 turnout drew between 75,000 and 100,000 participants. Beside the tens of thousands of students who made up as much as 75 percent of the San Francisco march, there were 7,000 trade unionists in the labor contingent.

These demonstrations shook the White House considerably more—it is now known through the Pentagon papers—than many antiwar marchers believed at the time.

International protest

The American antiwar movement received strong backing around the world. Johnson went on a Far East "peace keeping" tour in October 1966 and received the same kind of reception he and other White House spokesmen were getting on campuses in this country.

In Paris, Nov. 28, 10,000 to 15,000 gathered at the great hall of the Mutualité to attend the opening of the War Crimes Tribunal, initiated by Bertrand Russell.

This group—long before the My Lai massacre was exposed in the U.S. press—investigated and publicized throughout the world the atrocities committed by the U.S. military in Indochina. The giant Paris rally at its opening was greeted by Jean-Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz and Vladimir Dedijer, among others.

Youth groups around the world worked actively with the Student Mobilization Committee to build an international student strike in support of the April 15, 1967, mass U.S. demonstrations. A meeting in Toronto, March 12-13, set up the Canadian Student Committees to End the Vietnam War.

A big demonstration of 10,000 in Brussels, March 4, underlined the hatred of Europeans for the U.S. war. Belgian students marched through

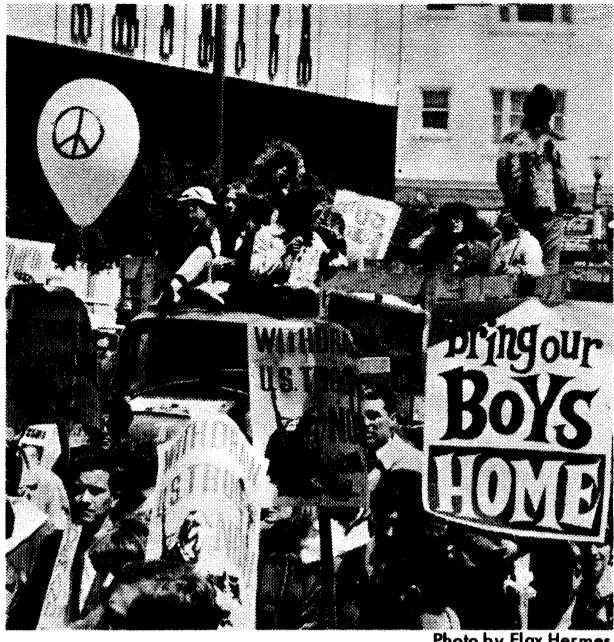


Photo by Flax Hermes

San Francisco antiwar march April 15, 1967

the streets chanting: "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

The feeling that GIs also had a right to oppose the war was beginning to appear at Army bases. Just before the April 1967 demonstrations, the Army launched a frame-up drive against Pfc. Howard Petrick, a socialist GI stationed at Ft. Hood, Texas, for expressing antiwar views and distributing the literature of the antiwar movement on the base.

For mass action

There are and have been many obstacles to building the antiwar movement in this country. From the outset of the student demonstrations against the war in 1965, the Democrats and Republicans and their supporters attempted to contain war protest within the channels of capitalist electoral politics.

Ruling-class newspapers and TV consistently warped the positions of the antiwar movement and lied about its activities and demonstrations. The federal, state and local police apparatus was brought in over and over again to repress antiwar activists. Military "justice" came down hard on antiwar GIs.

This exerted considerable pressure within the antiwar movement to steer it away from mass actions against the government's war policy.

Reformists attempted to convert the antiwar movement into a vote-catching organization for their "lesser evil" capitalist candidates.

Ultralefts tried to purify the movement. They wanted to exclude from it those whom they deemed to be insufficiently "anticapitalist," and they tried to convert it into a vehicle for their own version of politics, whatever that might be. They also sought to substitute small-scale confrontation-type actions for mass street demonstrations against the war.

The Militant, reflecting the views of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, consistently fought these notions. What had to be done was clear: A mass antiwar movement had to be built, representing every single person who wanted the U.S. to get out of Indochina.

Harry Ring explained the importance of a mass antiwar movement in the May 15, 1967, *Militant*, one month after the New York and San Francisco demonstrations. . . . the fact is that the Mobilization was the first broad, national coalition of antiwar forces. . . .

"From the viewpoint of the SWP, this itself was a major advance in the struggle against the war. We regard the U.S. aggression in Vietnam as an expression of its imperialist policy and we want to build a movement in this country that can become part of a worldwide anti-imperialist force.

"Furthermore we are convinced that it will take not only a mass movement to end the war, but a mass movement that finally has a class character. That is, one based upon the working people, Black and white. . . .

"One way to get a conception of the political impact of the antiwar movement is to simply consider what shape we'd be in if the situation were reversed. Imagine this: The April 15 Mobilization drew not half a million but 3,000. And the prowar 'Loyalty Day' parade organized in response to April 15 drew not 3,000 people but half a million. If that were the relationship of forces, what would the pace of Asian escalation be? What would the state of America be?

"Demonstrations have played a key role in building the antiwar movement. . . . The united demonstrations influenced public opinion and involved numbers of people far greater than the sum total of the supporters of the individual participating groups."

Split in Washington

The Pentagon papers reveal that precisely at

this time—in May 1967—a wing of top officials in the Democratic administration had become convinced their original war plans could not be carried out. They believed that U.S. military pressure was insufficient to crush the revolutionaries on the battlefield and they feared that a huge escalation of the war would detonate a social explosion in this country they could not control.

These doubts had begun to arise a year earlier. In April 1966, a memorandum by Asst. Secretary of Defense John T. McNaughton summarized the impressions of an administration official who had just visited Saigon:

"Place (VN) in unholy mess.

"We control next to no territory.

"Fears economic collapse.

"Military will be same place year from now.

"Pacification won't get off ground for a year."

At the same time, U.S. intelligence reports indicated that the bombing of North Vietnam would not "break Hanoi's will."

Washington escalated the bombing and stepped up the troop shipments. "By the turn of the year [1966]," says the *Times* summary, "the air war had become the main point of controversy. Public dissent over the bombing was rising. Dispatches from Hanoi by Harrison E. Salisbury . . . generated an 'explosive debate about the bombing,' the Pentagon study adds. . . .

"Recapitulating the public furor over the bombing, the study comments that 1966 'drew to a close on a sour note for the president.'" Bombing of Hanoi had resulted in "a significant loss of world opinion support," the Pentagon papers state.

Thus, publicly pretending that American and international opinion was gobbling up its lies like cotton candy, the administration was keenly aware of the depth of antiwar sentiment.

Following the April 1967 demonstrations, General Westmoreland was brought back from South Vietnam to testify that the "dissenters" were "aiding the enemy" and that if the antiwar movement would stop, a U.S. military victory would be easy. The antiwar movement was "letting our boys down."

But at the same time, May 5, 1967, McNaughton handed a memorandum to Pentagon chief McNamara declaring that if Westmoreland would get 550,000 men, he should be told, "That will be all, and we mean it."

The *Times* states, "The note to Secretary McNamara . . . expressed uneasiness about the breadth and intensity of public unrest and dissatisfaction with the war. As a man whose 18-year-old son was about to enter college . . . Mr. McNaughton was especially sensitive to the unpopularity of the war among young people."

McNaughton wrote in the memorandum, "A feeling is widely and strongly held that 'the Establishment' is out of its mind. The feeling is that we are trying to impose some U.S. image on distant peoples we cannot understand (any more than we can the younger generation here at home), and that we are carrying the thing to absurd lengths. Related to this feeling is the increased polarization that is taking place in the United States with the seeds of the worst split in our people in more than a century." (Emphasis added.)

Following this, McNaughton and McNamara submitted a memorandum to Johnson developing "counterarguments against the military option of large reinforcements and a wider war, emphasizing the increasing popular discontent with the war among the American public," the *Times* states.

The same paper "expressed moral qualms about the reaction of world and domestic opinion to the kind of expanded air campaign advocated by senior military commanders."

It is to be noted that these top-secret memorandums do not emphasize legislative actions in Congress or the opinions of particular politicians. The top decision makers viewed as their main problem in domestic politics *mass public opinion*.

Tet offensive

Johnson continued to overrule the recommendations by McNamara and to escalate the war for 10 months. The decisive turning point was the massive military defeat suffered by Washington's armies in the Tet offensive of January and February 1968 and the international outcry of rage that followed Johnson's murderous suppression of the Tet offensive by destroying the cities seized by the rebels.

When the dust from the bombs had settled and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese had been murdered or turned into homeless refugees, Johnson and Westmoreland declared that the U.S. had won a great victory.

Westmoreland's secret report to the commander-in-chief declared "the offensive had been 'a very near thing' for the allies," the *Times* summary reveals. The *Times* continues, "Despite 40,000 killed, at least 3,000 captured and perhaps 5,000 disabled or dead of wounds, the North Vietnamese

and the Vietcong now had the initiative. They were 'operating with relative freedom in the countryside' and had driven the Saigon government forces back into a 'defensive posture around the towns and cities.' The pacification program 'in many places . . . has been set back badly.'

Another Pentagon paper, submitted by the Office of Systems Analysis, declared "the offensive appears to have killed the [pacification] program once and for all."

Westmoreland asked for 200,000 more troops; Defense Secretary McNamara resigned; and Clark Clifford, a prominent lawyer for the duPont family, was appointed to replace McNamara.

Clifford then convened in secret a group of other trusted representatives of the ruling class, who undertook a major review of the situation. This authoritative body was ultimately responsible for turning down Westmoreland's request, and shifting the emphasis of U.S. military strategy away from the path of unlimited escalation which had been followed for over three years.

The "Clifford Group" asked the CIA: "What is the likely course of events in South Vietnam over the next 10 months, assuming no change in U.S. policy or force levels?"

The intelligence apparatus responded: "It is manifestly impossible for the Communists to drive U.S. forces out of the country. It is equally out of the question for U.S./GVN forces to clear South Vietnam of Communist forces."

The "Clifford Group" asked the CIA: "What is the likely [North Vietnamese Army/Vietcong] strategy over the next 10 months if U.S. forces are increased by 50,000, by 100,000, or by 200,000?"

The CIA responded—and these sentences are eloquent testimony to the gains of decades of revolutionary struggle—"We would expect the Communists to continue the war. . . . Over a 10-month period the Communists would probably introduce sufficient new units into the South to offset the U.S. maneuver battalion increments of the various force levels given above."

In other words, not 50,000, not 100,000 and not 200,000 additional U.S. troops in South Vietnam could crush the revolution. And the ruling-class advisors were keenly aware of the problems they would confront in this country by sending in 200,000 more troops. This would require mobilizing the reserves.

If further escalation occurred, the Clifford group told Johnson, "it will be difficult to convince critics that we are not simply destroying South Vietnam in order to 'save' it and that we genuinely want peace talks."

It continued, "This growing disaffection accompanied, as it certainly will be, by increased defiance of the draft and growing unrest in the cities because of the belief that we are neglecting domestic problems, runs great risks of providing a domestic crisis of unprecedented proportions."

According to the *Times*, the Clifford memorandum "concluded that the United States presence in South Vietnam should be used 'to buy time' during which the South Vietnamese Army and government 'can develop effective capability.'

This last sentence should be underlined. It shows that the advocates of a changed course in U.S. policy did not favor withdrawal of U.S. troops and were far from being willing to concede victory to the revolutionaries. Under the impact of public pressure in this country, they believed that U.S. forces had to be limited and that the Saigon army would have to play a major role in crushing the revolution.

All of this, they also realized, required "buying time"—their own words. Further prosecution of the war required buying time from the American public in order to stabilize the military and political forces of counterrevolution in Saigon. This was the policy change inaugurated in Washington in March 1968.

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Photo by Edgar Roskis
May 1970 antiwar demonstration in Paris.

Coal miners on strike

Miners began walking out before their old United Mine Workers union contract expired Sept. 30. All 80,000 were out of the pits and strip mines Oct. 1, effectively closing down the soft coal fields of Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and throughout the rest of the Appalachian region.

Miners' demands, listed in the Sept. *Black Lung Bulletin* of the Black Lung Association, are the following: 1) Six-hour day; 2) Guaranteed pension for (a) retired miner, (b) disabled miner, (c) widow and dependents; 3) Sick pay and fringe benefits; 4) \$1 a ton royalty [for] pension increase; 5) Wage increase to \$50 a day; 6) Fairer grievance procedure; 7) Power to the safety committee; 8) One- or two-year contract, no more three-year mistakes; 9) Rank and file ratification of contracts."

These demands are in sharp contrast from those submitted by UMW president W.A. Boyle in the formal negotiations with the mine owners. He is



reported to be asking only for the wage increase up to \$50 a day and for an increase in royalty payments for the pension fund from 40 cents a ton to 80 cents.

Early in the negotiations, both union and management spokesmen were reported as "not too far apart." R. Heath Larry, chairman of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, is vice-chairman of the United States Steel Corporation and

also the chief negotiator for the steel industry. Larry negotiated the recent settlement with the United Steelworkers of America, providing for union-management teams to increase production in the steel mills.

The coal fields have already gone through the "increase production" phase of their development. This began shortly after World War II when John L. Lewis signed for the mine union a contract granting uncontrolled mechanization of the mines. Production per miner increased fivefold and more, and the number of miners decreased from half a million to fewer than 100,000. Work in the mines, always dangerous, became a death assignment. Those who are not crushed or blasted to death die from the dust that settles in their lungs.

This is why the miners' Black Lung Association is more interested in the shorter work day, disability pensions, and power to the union safety committees than any other demands.

Their demand for rank-and-file ratification of all contracts is addressed as much to the UMW bureaucracy headed by Boyle as it is to the mine operators.

From the outset of official negotiations—which are conducted in Washington, D.C., not in the coal fields—representatives of the mine operators were said to be "amicable," willing to wait until Nov. 13 to see what new benefits will redound to them from Phase Two of the government wage freeze.

Most coal customers had laid in enough supplies to last for at least a month. Many steel mills, normally among the largest coal users, are idle. Rail companies, financially connected with the steel and mining industries, were laying off workers on the rails and in the shops.

For the miners, the strike is a chance to breathe fresh air.

The *Black Lung Bulletin* says, "Many miners have indicated that if they didn't get the official right of ratification, they will have to take other actions to show some control over the new contract that affects their lives."

Gov't workers protest freeze

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—On Oct. 1, over 2,000 federal employees, mostly members of the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, and including many postal workers, attended a rally here at Manhattan Center protesting the "double

wage freeze" imposed upon them by the federal government. The Nixon administration had refused to grant them a 4-percent pay raise this past spring and recently extended the wage freeze for public employees until July 1, 1972. In addition, Nixon has announced he plans to reduce federal employment by 5 percent.

A march of 600 preceded the rally. It was led by six pall-bearers carrying a coffin symbolizing the death of federal employees as far as their "boss," the federal government, is concerned.

Those present took time off from work to attend. The rally was very spirited, with shouts of "Strike!" interrupting frequently. Picket signs read: "Social Security Workers Demand Justice," "Kill the Wage Freeze," "Send Nixon Back to California," and "Strike Now."

Four members of Congress from New York spoke, including Shirley Chisholm (D), who received a standing ovation. There were five prominent labor officials present, including Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council; Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers (AFL-CIO); Moe Boller, president of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union (AFL-CIO); Vincent Sombrotto, president of the Branch 36, Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO), and Joseph Gleason, national vice-president of AFGE.

Chisholm was the only speaker to mention the war as the cause of the inflation and ultimately of the wage freeze.

Gleason pointed out that in the wage controls of World War II there was no special singling out of public employees. He said the day of the concept of the "public servant" was over and that public employees should be "no man's servant when they perform a service for the government." He explained that the two lowest grades of federal workers earn less for a family of four than they would on welfare in New York City and that the salary for a beginning college graduate, \$6,938, was considerably less than government minimum standards (\$7,183) for what a family of four needs to live in New York.

The purpose of the rally was to show support for a bill before Congress disapproving Nixon's action in delaying federal salary adjustments to July 1, 1972. It was rejected by the House Oct. 4.

Members of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and supporters of the National Peace Action Coalition attended the meeting and distributed literature for the Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations. They received a friendly welcome and many at the meeting took their leaflets, promising to participate in the antiwar demonstrations.

The National Picket Line

Big strikes already begun, and others pending, occur now under the sign of the government wage freeze. For this reason they have a new twist to them and are further distorted by maneuvers of Labor Department "mediators," who enter negotiations as representatives of the government.

Prior to the Nov. 1 deadlines for the current round of transport strikes, most of the top union officials sought to postpone action, hoping for better settlements when the 90-day Phase One of the wage freeze expires Nov. 13. They were not able to stall strikes in the mines or on the waterfront because the employers in both instances refused to cooperate. Nor did the labor department give any shove in the direction of avoiding a showdown.

A strike could possibly occur on the railroads because the small but strategic Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, having waited out a strike ban imposed by Congress last May, was legally free to strike Oct. 1.

In the soft-coal fields 80,000 miners walked out when the United Mine Workers contract expired Oct. 1. Negotiations this time have been different. Some time ago the head of the mine owners' association announced there would be no man-to-man negotiations between himself and W.A. "Tony" Boyle, UMW president, indicating who is in the commanding position.

It is widely reported that the operators are prepared to grant practically all the UMW demands, including a \$50-a-day wage and an increase of royalty payments to the welfare and pension fund, which signifies only that the coal operators think they can depend on the government wage freeze to keep coal miners from collecting.

The New York Times speculates that the operators may be anxious to keep Boyle, the current-but-challenged president of the UMW, in office. Boyle is now on trial in two federal suits. One has been brought against him by the Labor Department under the Landrum-Griffin Act for keeping seven UMW districts under receivership. The other has been brought by Miners For Democracy, challenging the legality of the last UMW election, in which Boyle's appointees distributed the ballots and counted the returns.

Two organizations representing miners, The Black Lung Association and Miners For Democracy, are advancing serious demands for higher pensions, competent medical testing of miners afflicted with black lung, and greater safety in the mines. In addition, Miners For Democracy is demanding the right of all UMW members to vote on the union contract. It is now ratified only by the 125-member policy committee of the union.

All signs indicate that Boyle and the coal operators seek to head off the movement among the miners to control their own union by signing a contract which neither side intends to enforce, expecting the government to prohibit payment of a promised raise.

In the longshore industry, President Thomas W. Gleason of the International

Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) had ordered 45,000 dock workers at East Coast and Gulf ports to stay on the job when their contract expired Sept. 30. But the New York Shipping Association announced that all rules on the docks automatically changed when the ILA contract expired. The shippers refused to pay the guaranteed 2,080 hours a year called for under the old contract.

The adamant stand of the employers provoked the strike by all ILA locals on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, except a few in Texas.

Longshoremen are not anxious to work without guarantees of a full week's pay in slack times when few ships are in port.

This is one of the issues in dispute on the West Coast where 15,000 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent) have been on strike since July 1.

The strike picture in the railroad industry is different. Deprived by government of the right to strike, railroad workers in the most recent years have been unable to win satisfaction of any grievances, including low pay.

Last December, after a one-day strike halted by special congressional legislation, the railway clerks were forced back to work and eventually settled on terms previously recommended by a presidential "fact-finding" board, which allowed a general wage increase of 42 percent stretched over 42 months for all workers in the operating departments of the rail network.

There was another side to the government board's recommendation—revision of work rules for the operation of trains, as demanded by railroad management.

Switchmen and other members of the United Transportation Union, after a series of "selective strikes" in July, have refused to accept the work-rule changes, charging such changes would mean the elimination of thousands of jobs from the industry.

As with the railroad clerks, the long overdue wage raises for all other railroad workers—including members of the UTU—are held up by the current wage freeze.

Wages for railway signalmen are presently being negotiated. Their wages have not risen commensurate with their skills, and they were forced to return to their jobs without any settlement of the pay differential issue after a two-day strike last May.

Negotiations over lagging wages for railroad shopmen, like those for the signalmen, are marking time until the government's 90-day wage freeze expires.

No top officials in any of the more than 18 unions representing workers in different departments of the railroad industry are saying anything about how to fight the wage freeze. All are waiting to see what will happen.

—FRANK LOVELL

BY JEAN Y. TUSSEY

CLEVELAND—Will the five-year-old National Organization for Women continue to contribute to building a powerful feminist movement for social change and abolition of all discrimination and oppression based on sex? Or will it turn away from organizing the power of masses of women and toward reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties?

This basic question about the future perspectives of NOW was raised in different forms throughout its three-day national conference in Los Angeles over Labor Day weekend, Sept. 4-6, (see news story in the Sept. 17 *Militant*). The conference saw both positive developments and also some very dangerous developments.

In her keynote speech, outgoing president Aileen Hernandez reviewed the growth of NOW from 28 founding members on June 30, 1966, to more than 10,000 current members in about 100 chapters. She listed the many victories achieved by NOW through court action, lobbying, demonstrations, letters, conferences, sit-ins, coalitions and caucuses.

She emphasized the "major significance" of the massive response to the first Women's Strike for Equality, Aug. 26, 1970, stating, "We organized the biggest consciousness-raising demonstration of all—the Aug. 26 demonstration which brought women from every walk of life into an awareness of the real issues of the movement and forced the media and the men in power to take this movement seriously."

But she went on to say that "This year, Aug. 26 became the focal point for fund-raising around the country to support a Women's Lobby in Washington, D.C., to create a continuing presence of women in the nation's capital to continue the fight for legislation still pending."

Then, in another shift in tone and emphasis, Aileen Hernandez went on to say that she felt NOW was "in danger of being co-opted" by ". . . people and organizations who for their own personal pushes toward power are beginning to latch onto our movement. . . . This movement is not going to be defined by small cliques who come from outside within the movement to take over and push the causes that they are concerned about. . . ."

Sister Hernandez did not specify what groups or individuals were threatening to co-opt NOW, but after her speech the conference was informed that a special meeting of NOW's board of directors had been held the previous night (Sept. 3) and took only one action: It voted to recommend that NOW withhold its support from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) because of the coalition's "tactics and politics." WONAAC is a broad coalition of women's groups that is building a national campaign, and a march on Washington, D.C., Nov. 20 for repeal of all antiabortion laws.

There was no explanation of this recommendation, no discussion, and no vote.

Then, Wilma Scott Heide, chairwoman of NOW's board of directors, who was chairing the meeting, held up a sign announcing the candidacy of Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States. Heide stated that NOW is "non-partisan," and denounced the Linda Jenness campaign headquarters, which was in a separate room in the hotel and was open to any NOW members who were interested.

For NOW members who had seen McGovern for President and California Democratic Party literature prominently displayed in the registration room, the discriminatory attack on the socialist woman was indefensible, antifeminist red-baiting.

Abortion campaign

The most harmful development at this conference was the way in which some members of the board of directors maneuvered in a most unprincipled fashion to prevent endorsement by NOW of the WONAAC national abortion campaign and national demonstrations for abortion law repeal on Nov. 20. This united abortion campaign around such a crucial and basic demand of the movement should have the support of all serious feminists. The Nov. 20 march on Washington and San Francisco will be the first such demonstration since the mass marches for the right to vote in the early 1900s.

A resolution calling for endorsement

it. Before she opened her mouth, the chair changed the rules to cut speaking time from three minutes to one minute! The SWP spokeswoman, stated that as a 30-year member of the party and a member of its national committee, she knew that the charges contained in this red-baiting motion were entirely false.

In the debate that ensued, a number of NOW members strongly opposed this introduction of undemocratic, witch-hunting methods into NOW. Early in the debate the resolution was amended to delete specific mention of the SWP and YSA, but leave in the general condemnation of "divisive forces." But a sister from Berkeley who spoke opposed the resolution even

from Berkeley, a leading advocate of support for WONAAC, was elected, while a leading opponent of support for the abortion campaign—Lucinda Cisler from New York—was not re-elected.

Neither the workshop resolution to withhold support from WONAAC, nor the recommendation to withhold support made by the outgoing board of directors was ever brought to the floor. This was clearly a recognition of the fact that the only motivation for it was the same red-baiting that had just been defeated in the form of the Komisar resolution. Opponents of support for WONAAC must have felt that a resolution to withhold NOW's endorsement would have been defeated if presented to the full conference for a vote. The strong support by many NOW women for the abortion campaign was indicated by the fact that more than 100 signed up as supporters of WONAAC during the conference.

The other major discussion of the national conference was on the resolution on lesbian oppression. The relationship between the red-baiting motion and the resolution on the oppression of lesbians was clear to leading supporters of the resolution on lesbianism, who had voted against the red-baiting motion.

Leading spokeswoman for the resolution on lesbian oppression was Del Martin. Acknowledging that the resolution was lengthy, she explained that it was very carefully worded to serve as a contribution to consciousness-raising in an area on which NOW has been silent. She called for rejection of all attempts to weaken the statement by elimination of a number of paragraphs which Lucy Komisar and several other NOW leaders proposed to do in exchange for their support.

The following is typical of the sections opponents wanted to eliminate:

"WHEREAS, some members of NOW object that the lesbian question is too controversial to confront right now, that we will weaken the movement by alienating potential and current members who are comfortable with NOW's 'respectable' image. The same argument, that women would be frightened away, was raised a few years ago when NOW took a bold stand on the controversial abortion issue. The argument did not prove prophetic then, and we do not believe it is valid now. We are, after all, a reform movement, with revolutionary goals." All weakening amendments were defeated and the resolution passed as presented.

There were other indications of NOW's potential for continuing to reach out to women and contribute to the feminist movement. For the first time, NOW called for an immediate end to the war in Vietnam. The convention also addressed itself to the special forms of oppression of women in poverty, women in industry and in unions, and women of oppressed nationalities. A proposal was made that the next national conference be held where more members could afford to go, like a college campus.

What road for NOW?

But the question of where NOW is going will be answered not by the diversity of its program and activities, but by its consciously adopted priorities, and how the membership, in their local chapters, implement those decisions.

For example, a section of the national leadership sees the building of the National Women's Political Caucus and maintaining a lobby in Washington as the top organizational priority in preparation for intervention of women as a political force in the 1972 presidential election campaign. They propose to do this by calling upon women to join and support the Democratic and Republican parties.

This orientation toward "responsible" work within the capitalist two-party set-up, was what was behind the efforts

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WHERE IS NOW GOING?



Photo by Brian Shannon

The National Organization for Women initiated the massive women's demonstrations on Aug. 26, 1970, and 1971.

of WONAAC had been adopted by the Berkeley chapter of NOW and was properly submitted to the arrangements committee. However, for some unexplained reason, it disappeared. It was not published, as were all the other resolutions.

Since the program of WONAAC is identical with the program of NOW—for repeal of all abortion laws, no restrictive laws on contraception and no forced sterilization—opponents of the Berkeley resolution could motivate their opposition only by red-baiting, not by democratic discussion and logical arguments.

This red-baiting of WONAAC—with charges that it was "dominated" by women from the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—occurred in the workshop on Reproduction and Its Control, which finally passed a motion recommending that the conference not support WONAAC.

In the plenary session on Sunday, Sept. 5, the debate came to a head, with the democratic and feminist tendencies in NOW on one side, and on the other side those who wanted to step back from an orientation of independent mass action by women. Lucy Komisar, a board member from New York, introduced a motion to condemn "the actions of groups and organizations that act to divide and exploit the feminist movement for their own goals and purposes, including the SWP and the YSA."

When the resolution was reported out, the single voting NOW member present at the conference who was affiliated with the SWP rose to oppose

as amended. "We can't be for civil liberties with exceptions," she emphasized.

Sandy Tate of Los Angeles NOW said that she was not a member of the SWP or YSA but had worked with women who are, and has found them to be dedicated feminists. "The only control they want is control over their own bodies," she stated.

Dorothy Haener, of the UAW's Women's Department and a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, spoke for the red-baiting resolution. She related stories of supposed manipulation by the SWP around the country, and explained that "We are here to educate chapters" which have not had experiences with such matters.

Betty Friedan, a founder of NOW, took the floor for the first time to speak against the resolution. She noted the dangers in such a resolution, which she felt smacked of the McCarthyite witch-hunts of the 1950s.

When Lucy Komisar, author of the red-baiting resolution, took the floor, one of her charges was that the SWP and YSA went to state capitols only to demonstrate, not to lobby.

The amendment to delete mention of the SWP and YSA passed overwhelmingly. No count was necessary. Then the resolution to condemn nameless "divisive groups" was passed by 142 to 97. Among those voting against the entire resolution were Betty Friedan, Wilma Scott Heide, and several other members of the new board of directors.

Also significant was the fact that in the hotly contested election of the new board of directors, Marijean Suelze

Labor officials in Mpls. express discontent with wage freeze

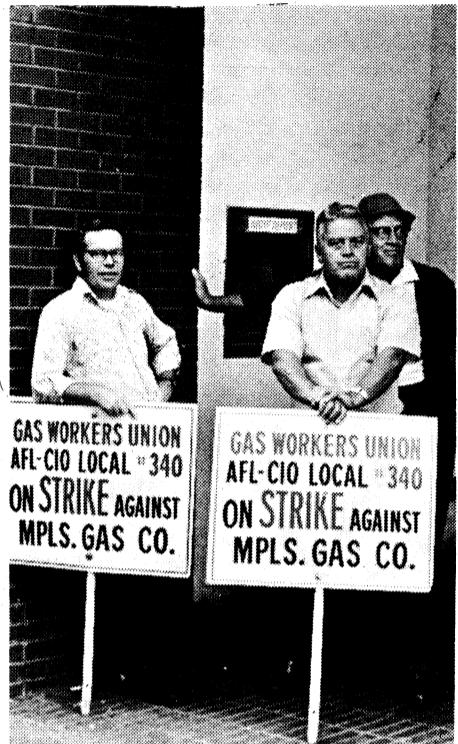


Photo by Tom Chelstrom

Minneapolis Gas Employees Union members stayed out despite Nixon's wage-freeze order (see story Sept. 24 *Militant*).

By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS — Since Aug. 15 when Nixon imposed a freeze on wages, there have been indications that a shifting mood is underway in the trade unions, and discontent among workers appears to be more outspoken.

In interviews with 10 union officials — largely picked at random — this reporter found some interesting responses to key questions related to fighting Nixon's economic policy. For example:

- None were opposed to the concept of a general strike against the freeze, although all felt it was currently unfeasible.
- All were open to the concept of a labor party, although most evinced skepticism that it could be formed now.
- Asked about the idea of a congress of labor, answers ranged from interest to enthusiasm.

Carl Winn, AFL-CIO regional director for Minnesota and North and South Dakota reports "mixed feelings" on Nixon's new economic policy among labor's rank and file.

"Everybody says they like the price freeze," Winn said, "but they don't like the wage freeze." He added, however, that "there are many working people who don't realize that the price freeze has as many holes as a sieve." Winn said he would not be surprised "to see a hell of a lot of wildcat strikes" as the freeze begins to take its toll.

Winn is not averse to a nationwide 24-hour general strike against the freeze, but raised some reservations. "I've been through general strikes," he said, "and even on a local basis they are pretty hard to organize. This is fine in theory, but damn hard to execute in practice."

Attempt a general strike, Winn warned, and "they'd bring in the army and shoot people for standing on the street."

He thinks the proposal for a congress of labor is unrealistic, but added, "It depends on how representative the group was." He said it would have to be representative of local unions on up.

But Winn thinks something ought to be done about the freeze. "I don't think it will create a single job," he said. "I'm inclined to think it will eliminate jobs." The reason, he said, why the Nixon economic policy might increase unemployment is that the special tax write-offs for new equipment would mean more automation, thus fewer workers.

Ov Clausen, president and business agent of the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 1158, thinks the U.S. is in an economic crisis. "When have we had such high unemployment and high inflation before?" he asked. The union represents 1,200 Minneapolis bus drivers.

A wage increase negotiated last year and scheduled to go into effect a few weeks ago won't go into effect for the drivers. It would have boosted hourly pay about 23 cents.

Clausen, however, thinks the freeze

may be necessary to cut inflation. But he offered a familiar rejoinder to the Nixon plan, often mentioned by unionists these days. "Why didn't he freeze profits and interest?" He suggested that the reason might be that if profits were frozen, there would be no reason for anyone to buy stock. "You couldn't call it stock," he noted.

He said that while he thinks it is possible to form a labor party, he feels that third parties have not been successful in the recent past. He speculated that it was candidates like George Wallace and Eugene McCarthy in 1968 who drew votes from Humphrey and put Nixon into office.

The idea of a congress of labor interested Clausen. "I don't see anything wrong with that," he said. "It would be good." He suggested that such a gathering could set guidelines for prices and wages after the freeze, and "equalize the penalties" leveled against wages and profits during the freeze.

"We think the freeze is a gross inequity," said Jim McDermott of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers. McDermott is a paid teachers' union organizer. He said that there was "general distrust" among Minnesota teachers toward the freeze, which he charged will hit salaried workers especially hard.

While McDermott thinks that a 24-hour general strike was possible, he feels it is unlikely. "The country is not conditioned to the general strike," he noted.

Did he think it was possible for the unions in the U.S., representing 18 million members, to form a labor party?

"It's hard to speculate," he said. "If there's ever a labor party, a number of things would have to occur first." The main obstacle, he said, is apathy that comes from middle-class values. "If there was a labor party," he said, "perhaps there never would have been a crisis at this time."

He said that a labor party should oppose U.S. involvement in the war. Did he think the labor movement should convene a congress of labor?

"I think it's a real possibility, and it may occur in the next few weeks depending on what the president does."

Chris Amer, business agent of the American Federation of Grain Millers Local 1, said the local is waiting to hear from the international on what to do next.

After the freeze was imposed, negotiations broke off on a major contract involving some 240 grain processing workers. He says the freeze hurts workers most who make less than \$4 an hour. Virtually all of the members in his union are in that category.

What did Amer think of a 24-hour general strike?

"It's possible," he said. "I know ours would go out if we let them." But he cautioned that there was no use going out on strike if they didn't win.

Amer thinks that a congress of labor "would be all right, I suppose." Asked about suggestions on program for such a gathering, he said, "We've got

other people to think about that."

Few union officials here have been as outspoken in their support of the antiwar movement as Elvis Swan, an international representative of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union.

Asked what he thought of a 24-hour general strike to end the freeze, Swan said, "I think it would be a damn good idea. My main beef about the freeze is that in our industry the average pay is something like \$2.25 an hour."

Swan says a national strike "would throw the thing in the lap of Congress where it belongs."

"I think Nixon tipped off big business at the start of it," he said. "I think they're trying to take the hide out of the working class. I remember back in World War II they froze wages but they didn't freeze profits. The corporations made a killing."

"I think the war is the big cause of inflation," Swan stated. "They spend \$30-billion on the war. They keep soaking us and its the working class that's paying the price."

The U.S. Congress, Swan believes, has been lax in its responsibilities. "If there were people in there who represented labor, the freeze wouldn't have happened in the first place. Congress has come out with prescriptions that get the poor people hooked."

A labor party at this time is unworkable, says Swan. "I think the labor heads in the main in this country are too damn reactionary for that. But I'm not opposed to anything that's for the working class and if it will help them, I'm for it."

Swan also said he likes the idea of a congress of labor. "It would have to be based on the needs of all the people," Swan said. The unionist observed that such a gathering would have to be representative of all labor.

Swan, who is 54 and has been a labor organizer for more than 35 years, sees a situation that could heat up rapidly in the labor movement. "If when this freeze is over," he said, "Congress isn't sitting there with a program to alleviate wages in the lower paying industries, they're going to be in real trouble."

"Really lousy" is the way Charles Williams, president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees local at the University of Minnesota, describes the freeze. "The freeze doesn't seem to hurt anyone except the working people," he said.

Williams' main bone of contention about a 24-hour general strike is that it would not be long enough. A lengthier strike would be necessary, he said, in order to turn back the freeze.

A congress of labor, Williams thinks, "would be a good thing." As for a labor party, Williams said "it would take a mass movement across the country. It could do a lot of things if the executives of the unions move to break with the guidelines of capitalism. The Democratic and Republican parties work within the same guidelines."

the White House in Washington and in front of the Fortaleza [the Puerto Rican governor's official residence in San Juan]. These lines will be put into effect next Thursday, September 16.

Referring to the fear expressed by some leaders that they would be unable to mobilize their memberships for the mass march, Félix Morales of the Heavy Equipment Operators Union stated that "there is no alternative to proving that we are really leaders. Anyone who can't bring out 800 of their members ought to resign as a labor leader right now."

The meeting was attended for the first time by several women trade-union leaders, including Ana María Diaz de Carrasquillo, Aida González, and Carmen Ríos of the Association of Licensed Practical Nurses.

March to protest wage freeze set in Puerto Rico

The following article appeared in the Sept. 12 Claridad, weekly newspaper published by the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI—Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) in San Juan. It was translated by Intercontinental Press and printed in their Oct. 4 issue.

SAN JUAN—A massive workers' march has been set for October 9 to protest the wage freeze decreed by President Richard Nixon.

The decision was reached last Wednesday [September 8] at a meeting attended by about sixty labor leaders representing international and independent trade unions from all over the country.

Pedro Grant, coordinator of the Movimiento Obrero Unido [United

Workers Movement], which will sponsor the march, launched a strong attack on Governor [Luís] Ferré for refusing to intervene in Washington so that Puerto Rican wages would not be frozen.

Grant accused Ferré of "not having grasped the seriousness of the injustice being suffered by the Puerto Rican working class, which on the one hand is denied the right to salaries equal to those of its North American brothers and sisters . . . and on the other has its salaries frozen at present levels."

In view of the alarming situation faced by many workers because of the bosses' refusal to negotiate wage increases, the meeting agreed to set up simultaneous picket lines in front of

Navy shanghais Constellation resisters

By HARRY RING

SAN DIEGO—At 4:30 a.m. the morning of Oct. 2, a contingent of 27 Navy officials and federal marshals entered a Roman Catholic church, arrested nine antiwar sailors who had taken sanctuary there, and shanghaied them onto the Vietnam-bound aircraft carrier U.S.S. Constellation.

The nine were members of the Constellation crew who had taken refuge at Christ the King Church here after deciding that they would not go to Vietnam to participate in the war. In taking sanctuary, they made clear that they were not deserting the military service, but simply refusing to go to Vietnam. Earlier that day they had told reporters that after the ship left, they would turn themselves in to face whatever charges the Navy might bring against them.

When the arresting party arrived, the nine were given a choice of surrendering on civilian warrants or returning to Navy custody. They chose the latter and were taken to a Naval Air Station. A few hours later, before their attorneys could contact them, they were flown out to sea and put aboard the Constellation.

This middle-of-the-night sneak attack came 20 hours after the giant Constellation steamed out of the harbor under rather remarkable circumstances.

The Constellation set sail after an appeal by pacifists and other antiwar activists that a "peace fleet" of boats, surf boards, and inner tubes be in the harbor that morning to reaffirm previously registered public sentiment that the ship should not sail.

Along with several hundred others, I stood on a lookout point directly above the harbor as the giant attack ship left, its deck lined with bomber planes. It was quite manifest that the U.S. fleet did not intend to be disturbed by peace sentiment.

Preceding the Constellation were four ominous looking Coast Guard patrol boats. Accompanying them were two Navy river patrol crafts of the type used in Vietnam, complete with 44mm guns. Several sail boats which tried to make their way toward the Constellation were quickly boxed in by half a dozen Harbor Police and Coast Guard launches. Two huge Navy helicopters—one marked "007"—flew overhead. The Constellation made it out of the harbor.

As I watched this performance, it struck me as symbolic of the present

political plight of American imperialism.

In dispatching a ship from a major U.S. harbor to join its war forces in Vietnam, the U.S. government feels the need to surround it with a protective convoy as it churns against the antiwar sentiment of its own citizens.

And events have demonstrated that such sentiment is substantial in this Navy town which used to be known as a bastion of political reaction.

When it was announced that the Constellation would be going to Vietnam for bombing, it was decided to register the sentiment of civilians and

ber Constellation crew voted, with almost 55 percent registering themselves as opposed to the ship's going to Vietnam.

The total antiwar vote of 45,000 was 82 percent of the total.

Shortly after the Constellation sailed, I went to the church and talked to some of the nine. Their sincerity and concern for moral principles was clearly evident. Most of the nine had chosen Navy enlistment as an alternative to being drafted into the Army with the prospect of direct involvement in Vietnam combat.

Seaman Ronnie McLeod, 23, who had served nearly two years, said

about the war at the time, "but I also had certain ideas that it was somehow necessary, that there were no alternatives, so I just came to tolerate the situation. I still upheld the fight for 'legal democracy' and that it was the only way we could preserve our present way of life in the United States, you know, without having to see 'dirty commies' come over and overrun the country."

"While I was in the service, nothing really affected me too much until we came down to San Diego and started loading bombs," he said. "It got around the time when we were getting ready to deploy, and it started getting



Nine sailors from U.S.S. Constellation at church sanctuary

Photo by Jesse Smith

military personnel on the issue of whether it should go.

The Harbor Project, including among others the Concerned Officers Movement, pacifists from Nonviolent Action (NVA) and the People's Union, headed by the recently released draft resister David Harris, conducted a public ballot on the issue. Some 17 to 21 balloting places were opened throughout the city. Numerous antiwar activists carried portable ballot boxes into other areas.

The poll received wide media publicity and nearly 55,000 people voted in a city with a total population of some 600,000. About 45,000 of those who voted were civilians and 10,000 were military personnel. Nearly 90 percent of the civilians voted against the ship's going to Vietnam. Among the military personnel it was about 75 percent.

About 10 percent of the 5,000-mem-

he had been against the war for the past three years, but "being in the military, my opposition has built up stronger and stronger to the point where now there's no way I can support the war."

Jim Mikell, 19, a fireman, said he had joined the Navy because he felt he would not be part of the killing. "But after I had been in for a while, I realized there was no alternative. I was as much a part of the killing as if I were standing right there pulling the trigger. I just reached the point where I couldn't justify my going against my own principles, my own morals, my own beliefs. So I decided if I really believed in them, it was time to take action."

David Clay, 19, enlisted soon after graduating from high school. It had a romantic appeal, he explained, as well as offering the opportunity for learning a trade. He had misgivings

pretty evident that those bombs would be dropping on real people, and whatever damage they do to the 'enemy,' they do just as great or greater damage to innocent people. I filed for discharge from the service as a conscientious objector."

It is not yet known what the Navy will do with these nine now that it has succeeded in returning them to the Constellation as it heads toward its mission of death and destruction in Vietnam. Getting them back aboard is, of course, one more famous victory for the world cops. More may be required next time. Another aircraft carrier, the Coral Sea, is due in the San Francisco Bay area Oct. 7. It is slated to sail for Vietnam a month later. Before it had even arrived, it was reported, several hundred crew members signed a petition demanding the ship not be sent to Vietnam.

UAW officials wink at racism in Pontiac

By FRANK LOVELL

When the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was organized in the 1930s, it was not simply a union movement but was a social movement that led a crusade against economic and social injustice of all kinds. The United Auto Workers, as one of the most important CIO unions, was part of that crusade.

With this history it's particularly shameful that reports from Pontiac, Mich., indicate that UAW workers have been playing a prominent role in the racist anti-busing actions there. And the union leadership has done nothing about it.

Anti-busing pickets calling themselves the National Action Group closed two major General Motors plants in Pontiac Sept. 14. These plants have been the organizing centers for a Ku Klux Klan gang in the Detroit area estimated at about 1,000 members and headed by a minister of hate in Howell, Mich., Robert Miles, who runs what he calls "The United

Protestant Alabama Rescue Service." Wallace Fruitt, another Kluxer, is employed at the GM Pontiac Motor Car plant. A third, Dennis Ramsey, also works for GM. These are three of the six Klansmen arrested for dynamiting 10 school buses in Pontiac Aug. 30. An FBI informant said the bombers met in the parking lot of the GM Fisher Body plant.

Although the anti-busing National Action Group disclaims any connection with the Klan, they share a common immediate goal—stop school busing.

Some members of the Pontiac UAW Local 596 who had refused to cross the NAG picket lines at the GM plant voted a union donation of \$100 to the anti-bus group.

President Donald Johnson of Local 596, obviously sympathetic to the pickets, stated that "Regardless of how much merit this issue has, this is not a UAW picket line," and on that basis he advised workers to go to work. However, over half of the 2,000 em-

ployed at the plant stayed out, providing GM with an excuse to close both its plants for the day.

Police were sympathetic to the pickets and made no effort to keep them from the plant gates. *New York Times* reporter Jerry Flint quoted a Black onlooker, "If we were doing that, everyone would be in jail."

The leadership of the UAW is largely responsible by its failure to wage a consistent campaign against racism for this unseemly display of racist frustration on the part of the white pickets. Prior to World War II, the union leaders, from the International down to the local level, would have been in the forefront of fighting racial barriers and the pernicious influence of GM in the city of Pontiac, which has a population of 80,000, 25 percent Black.

The racist hiring practices of GM are well known to the UAW leadership, which has done nothing to correct them, even in instances where it has direct jurisdiction.

This tolerant attitude toward racism was revealed in the word and the deed of UAW President Leonard Woodcock. He said he found it "unthinkable" that any UAW local would contribute to a group that intended to cause a work stoppage "in violation of the UAW contract." But he did nothing.

Woodcock's myopic view and timid conduct spawns narrow-gauge local leaders of the Donald Johnson type. Others with broader, more progressive, vision are discouraged and eventually replaced by the UAW International, which is tolerant only of yes men who know how to "enforce the contract" in collaboration with the company personnel office.

Rather than putting the UAW on the side of the most oppressed workers and helping to wage a fight against racist hiring practices, racist housing patterns, and for better quality education for Blacks, the UAW leadership condones or winks at the collaboration of UAW members and the Ku Klux Klan.

Bangla Desh resists terrorism

By MARCEL BLACK

The struggle for the liberation of Bangla Desh and the brutal attacks against the Bengali people by the West Pakistani government continue. An article in the Sept. 23 *New York Times* reports continued atrocities and resistance in East Bengal.

Refugees in Indian camps interviewed by the *Times* reported that Bangla Desh "guerrillas were active in their areas and that the army carried out massive reprisals against ci-



Photo by Ed Weaver

Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, addressing New York rally for Bangla Desh in June 1971.

vilians after every guerrilla raid.

"Nira Pada Saha, a jute trader in Faridpur District, told of a reprisal against a village near his that had sheltered and fed the guerrillas. Just before he fled five days ago, he related, the army struck the village, first shelling it and then burning the huts.

"Some of the villagers didn't run away fast enough," he said. "The soldiers caught them, tied their hands and feet and threw them into the flames."

According to the refugees, the army leaves most of this terrorist work to civilian supporters of the West Pakistani regime, the razakars or home guards and supporters of right-wing political parties such as the Moslem League and Jamaat-i-Islami, which have been armed and given free reign.

Another refugee, Dipak Kumar Biswas, reported that the razakars come to villages arresting whatever able-bodied men they see and take them away. "We don't know what the army does to them," he said. "They never come back."

The refugees also report that despite this terrorism, the masses of villagers in Bangla Desh support and shelter the guerrillas.

Unable to militarily crush the Bengali people, the West Pakistanis are launching new maneuvers to reach a "political solution" to the problem that would cover over their butchery and provide window dressing for world opinion.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the West Pakistani capitalists, has begun to demand that "free elections" be held in Pakistan before the year is out. Bhutto's party was overwhelmingly defeated by the Awami League in the Dec. 7, 1970, elections. However, since the Bengali uprising and the arrest of the leaders of the Awami League, Bhutto has claimed to represent the

largest political party in Pakistan. Bhutto's refusal to make any concessions to the Awami League's demands during negotiations this March helped set the stage for the uprising of the Bengali people and its brutal suppression by the West Pakistanis.

Just in case anyone thought that Bhutto's demands against Yahya Khan for civilian elections and rule in Pakistan meant anything, Bhutto gave the analogy of Thieu's "elections" in Vietnam. "After all, if they can hold an election even in Vietnam, we should be able to hold one in Pakistan," he said.

The Sept. 15 issue of *The Red Mole*, a socialist biweekly published in England, reports the formation of the "Bangla Desh National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee."

This organization is a coalition of left-wing East Bengali organizations including "The National Awami Party (not to be confused with the Awami League), Communist Revolutionaries' East Bengal Coordination Committee, the Communist Party of East Bengal, the Shramik Krishak Karmee Sangha, the Communist Party of Bangla Desh, the Purba Bangla Kirshak Samity, the Purba Bangla Shramik Federation, the Bangla Desh Shramik Federation, the East Bengal Revolutionary Students' Union, and other organizations.

"The ultimate aim and objective of this Coordination Committee," their opening declaration states, "is to free Bangla Desh from the clutches of the marauding bandits and to establish on its soil a free, happy, decent, democratic social system—anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-monopoly in character . . ."

The group is calling for a united front of all political parties and organizations in East Bengal, including the Awami League, to form a Bangla Desh National Liberation Front.

Jordan negotiates with Palestine fighters

By TONY THOMAS

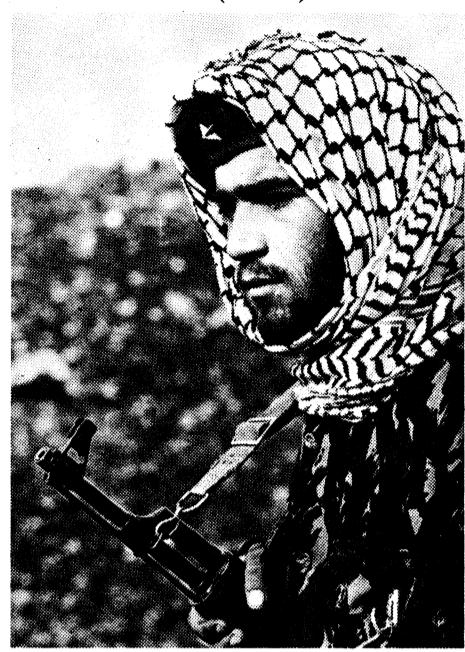
The Palestinian resistance organizations, whose main base of open operations has shifted to Lebanon, are deeply divided over whether to participate in the negotiations being held between the Jordanian regime and Saudi Arabian and Egyptian mediators about continued rights for the Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan.

The resistance was driven out of Jordan through a series of military attacks by the Jordanian authorities. The attacks reached their height in the September 1970 Jordanian civil war and culminated in the expulsion of the Palestinian resistance in July of this year.

Since that time, Egyptian and Saudi Arabian officials have attempted to set negotiations between the resistance and the Jordanian regime. This is an attempt to counter the condemnation they received from supporters of the Palestinian resistance for refusing to lift a finger while Hussein drove the resistance from Jordan. The talks have been scheduled and rescheduled many times in recent months due to the reluctance and division of the fedayeen over participation in the talks.

In early September, after much discussion, the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization—a coalition of Palestinian resistance

groups—voted seven to three to enter negotiations. Three members of Al Fateh, two members of Saika, one representative of the Arab Liberation Front and one independent member voted for negotiations. Two members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and an inde-



Palestinian commando

pendent voted against negotiations, according to a PFLP news conference held in Beirut, Lebanon, Sept. 13. The representative to the committee from the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) did not attend, although the DPFLP opposes negotiations.

At the Sept. 13 news conference, the PFLP distributed a statement attacking the negotiations, saying that mediation would "absolve the regime of responsibility for those crimes and place it on the same level as the resistance in the eyes of the Palestinian and Arab masses." The PFLP also charged that such negotiations would fracture the resistance movement, which is already weakened by Hussein's repression.

Within the ranks of Fateh, the largest Palestinian fedayeen organization and a supporter of the negotiations, there is apparently division over the question. The General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) and the women's, teachers' and workers' organizations associated with the PLO but under the leadership of Fateh, had all adopted statements condemning the negotiations by Sept. 14. Demonstrations on Sept. 14 in refugee camps in Jordan and in front of the PLO offices, mobilizing hundreds of Palestinians, also attacked the negotiations.

The Sept. 17 issue of the Beirut *Daily Star* quoted a statement by the DPFLP, which said, in part: "the resistance movement's delegation to the conference [in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia] with the Jordanian authorities represented the right-wing forces in the movement." They added that any new agreements with the Hussein regime "will never live, because the reactionary Jordanian regime will tear them to pieces as it did in respect to earlier accords." The DPFLP also felt that the negotiations were a means of "relieving Arab countries which signed the Cairo agreement of their commitments."

The Cairo agreements, reached by Egyptian mediation of the September 1970 Jordanian conflict, provided for freedom and amnesty for guerrillas, and relative freedom for the armed commandos and militia. These agreements, supposedly guaranteed by Egypt and other Arab states, were immediately violated by Hussein, who forced the resistance from Jordan in July.

This agreement remained the center of the Palestinian negotiations strategy when they opened discussions with Jordan Sept. 21. The PLO delegation included Khaled Al-Hassan of Fateh and the executive committee of PLO; Zouheir Moshen of Saika; Hamed

Abou Satat, an independent; and a representative of the Syria-based Palestine Liberation Army. Their main demands were for a return to the implementation of the Cairo agreement and the restitution of all rights to the Palestine guerrillas.

Jordanian spokesmen refused these demands, claiming that the expulsion of the resistance in July was in keeping with the Cairo agreement. The Sept. 22 issue of *L'Orient-Le Jour*, a Beirut daily, claimed that the Jordanians also demanded that subsidies formerly given by Libya, Kuwait and other Arab states to the Hussein regime be resumed. These stipends were suspended after the July attacks on the fedayeen.

Regardless of whether such negotiations are tactically advisable from the standpoint of exposing the Hussein, the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian regimes' failure to give any support to the Palestinian struggle, the relationship of forces between the Palestinian masses and the Jordanian regime—backed overtly by Israel and U.S. imperialism and covertly by the "progressive" capitalist regimes of Egypt, Syria and Libya—is too weak to win any real gains by simple negotiation for the fedayeen.

These gains will come through the organization and mobilization of the Palestinian and Arab masses.

Socialist editor harassed in Quebec

From *Intercontinental Press*

On the night of September 15 Montréal cops arrested André Doucet, editor in chief of the newspaper *Libération*, a "journal of struggle for an independent and French Québec."

Although the police offered no explanation of why he was arrested, Doucet was held for one-and-a-half hours. He was questioned about his political beliefs and his newspaper.

Doucet was seized by police along with two friends, Gilles Gravel and Claude Mayer, as they were leaving a meeting of the Common Front for Defense of the French Language. Doucet was questioned and released at about midnight; his friends were held an hour longer.

The arrests were part of a continuing campaign of police harassment against the militants of *Libération*. The newspaper has listed thirteen cases of such arrests during June alone. Some of those arrested were selling the paper at the time of their arrest; others were not engaged in any political work.

The police asked Doucet about the activities of John Lejderman, a writer for *Libération* who will go on trial September 20 on charges of having sold the paper on the street. This accusation stands, despite the fact that Municipal Law No. 2820 guarantees the right to sell newspapers on the street without obtaining a police permit.

"My arrest is a brutal, clumsy attempt to destroy freedom of the press in Montréal," Doucet said upon his release. "We demand that the charges against Lejderman be dropped, and that the campaign against our paper and the rights of the independentists come to an immediate end."

Bill Hampton urges conviction of Hanrahan

The following interview with Bill Hampton was obtained by Militant reporter Willie Petty Sept. 20 in Chicago. Hampton, an activist in Chicago's Maywood Community organization, is the brother of Fred Hampton, Chicago Black Panther leader who was murdered by Chicago police in December 1969. He is active in the Black Coalition to Convict the Murderers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. This coalition of Chicago Black organizations has launched a campaign to get Chicago state's attorney Edward P. Hanrahan and 13 other Chicago officials responsible for the murderous 1969 police raid and now facing trial for "obstructing justice," convicted of murder.

Militant: What do you think of the grand jury indictment of Hanrahan revealed Aug. 4?

Hampton: I think that some people were surprised at the indictment coming out. A lot of people thought that it would be another whitewash. It is headed toward a whitewash, but some people didn't even think that this would come out.

When the racist regime in Chicago murdered them, they didn't know how the community supported developments these brothers implemented. When they were murdered—Fred Hampton in his sleep, Mark Clark as he answered the door—people realized that this was downright murder. . . . The people spoke out, even

congressmen and politicians. Most people, including myself, think they should be convicted for murder.

Militant: What do you think should be done about this by the Black liberation movement?

Hampton: There should be all types of militant demonstrations. We should get Black officials and Black groups to speak out and unite against the racist murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. This was the first time ever in Illinois that oppressed minorities came together and united. If we can unify in getting a victory even by putting pressure on the judicial system in this case, we can unite and fight countless other murders. Murders like Kenneth Alexander several years ago, Emmett Till's murder, the four girls in Birmingham, Dr. Martin Luther King's murder, Bobby Hutton's murder, Malcolm X's murder, Medgar Evers' murder. We can build a base around this so that if the man puts his hands on one of us, he's got to deal with all of us as a unit.

Militant: What do you think are the tasks of the Black Committee to Convict the Murderers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark?

Hampton: I think mainly it should make other community groups aware that it exists. It should carry out militant demonstrations, get all the fact-finding information, and bring out

all the unknown evidence. If Hanrahan is not convicted by the racist courts, then he can be convicted by the people. More people that have refused to seek the truth will know it was a murder. We should make this a world-wide thing; we should build similar groups outside of Chicago.

Militant: Do you see the recent prison revolts as related to the murders?

Hampton: I think that the brothers in the prisons implemented the same spirit of liberation that Mark Clark and Fred did. These were brothers who were trying to say that they were people and not beasts, and trying to say what Fred and Mark said—that the people don't need to be hungry, the people don't need to be brutalized and clothesless. The prisoners were saying that they should be treated like people, not subjected to a jungle. This is why the murder was similar to Attica. If nothing is immediately done, you will see more uprisings, because the prisons are producing more Malcolm X's, Eldridge Cleavers and Angela Davis's.

Militant: What do you think of Hanrahan's keeping his job as states' attorney?

Hampton: Most people when they are indicted lose their jobs. I think Hanrahan and the others indicted should step down and take a leave of absence until they are tried.

Militant: How can we stop attacks on us like the murder of Fred and Mark and the attacks on the people of Cairo?



Photo by Brian Shannon

Fred Hampton in November 1968

Hampton: The reason this has happened is that we haven't taken action. Once Blacks and minorities unite and show what kind of power is needed, by any means necessary, then all these racist attacks can be eliminated.

Mylai massacre court-martial lets off Medina



Captain Medina with attorney F. Lee Bailey

The following are major excerpts from an article by Allen Myers in the Oct. 4 issue of Intercontinental Press.

By ALLEN MYERS

After only an hour of deliberation, a military jury Sept. 22 found Captain Ernest Medina not guilty of all charges against him arising from the Mylai massacre. Medina, the commander of the company that murdered perhaps as many as 500 civilians, was accused of responsibility for at least 100 deaths. He was also charged with personally murdering a woman and a small boy, and with assault on a prisoner.

The case presented by the prosecution was so weak that the judge threw out several counts. He reduced the charge of responsibility for 100 killings to "involuntary manslaughter," and completely dismissed the charge of murdering the boy after a defense witness testified that he himself had shot the child.

The few prosecution witnesses who indicated that Medina was aware of the slaughter turned out to be highly

unreliable. One retracted his testimony. Another said he was willing to lie about the case. . . .

Medina testified in his own defense that he had shot the woman because he thought she was about to throw a grenade, and he was not contradicted by prosecution witnesses. On the final charge, that of assaulting a prisoner, Medina admitted firing a rifle just over the man's head in order to force him to give information. The jury decided this was a legitimate means of interrogation.

The quality of the government's prosecution of Medina was perhaps best characterized by defense attorney F. Lee Bailey. After hearing the first three government witnesses, Bailey commented to the press: "It's the first criminal case I've seen where defense witnesses go on first."

It is interesting to compare the government's seeming inability to find any convincing evidence against Medina with the case compiled by Seymour M. Hersh, the reporter whose

stories for Dispatch News Service first brought the massacre to the attention of the American public.

In his book *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath*, which Hersh based primarily on interviews with men of Charlie Company who were involved in the events and records of the Army's investigation, he presents what would appear to be highly incriminating evidence against Medina.

[Hersh's book quotes Harry Stanley, Charles West, Herbert Carter, Sergeant Cowen, and Charles Hall as all claiming that Medina, in effect, ordered the massacre.]

. . . Stanley, West, Carter, Cowen, and Hall were not called as prosecution witnesses.

Nor did the prosecution call Roger Lewis Alaux Jr., even though his testimony was accepted by another court-martial jury. Alaux was a defense witness in the trial of Sergeant Charles Hutto, who was acquitted last Jan. 14 of a charge of assault with intent to commit murder.

Hutto admitted firing on unarmed civilians, but based his defense on the claim that Medina had ordered him to do so. Alaux told the jury that freed Hutto: "The orders [from Medina] were to destroy the village and everything in the village." Alaux was not asked to give the same testimony to the Medina jury.

Nor did the jury hear the testimony of Jay Roberts, whose interview with Hersh contradicted Medina's claim that he did not know of the massacre until it was over. "He [Medina] was directing the operations in the village. He was in the village the whole time I was—from nine o'clock to eleven o'clock."

Gary Crossley told Hersh that the second platoon of Charlie Company didn't know what to do when it discovered that Mylai was filled with women and children: "We phoned Medina and told him what the circumstances were, and he said just keep

going. It wasn't anything we wanted to do. . . ."

Crossley was not called as a prosecution witness.

Paul Meadlo, who reported, "I don't know if the CO [commanding officer, i.e., Medina] gave the order to kill or not, but he was right there when it happened," was not called as a prosecution witness.

If he had been called, Herbert Carter could have testified about more than Medina's briefing of the company. Hersh wrote:

" . . . Herbert Carter told the CID [Criminal Investigation Division of the Army] that Medina did some of the shooting of civilians as he moved into My Lai 4."

[Carter was warned that his description of Medina's shooting of a woman and a 17- or 18-year-old man amounted to a very serious charge against his commanding officer, and he replied: "What I'm telling is the truth, and I'll face Medina in court and swear to it."]

Carter didn't realize that an opportunity to testify rested on more than his willingness.

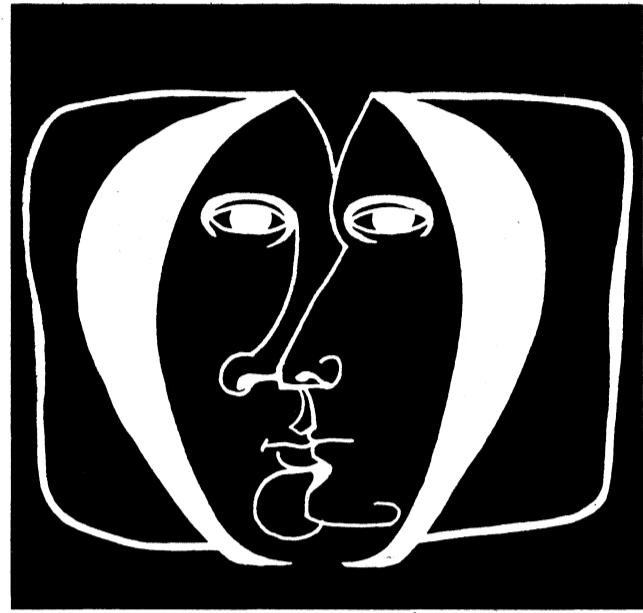
Medina was the last man to face trial on charges of direct involvement in the massacre. (Colonel Oran Henderson is now on trial, accused of concealing evidence about the slaughter.) Although the U.S. Army investigators put the death toll of Mylai at 450 to 500, only one person—lieutenant William Calley—has been convicted of murder. Calley's life sentence has already been reduced to 20 years on appeal, and Richard Nixon himself has all but promised to reduce it further.

Nixon, of course, is quite anxious to have the official record show that only one person is responsible for Mylai. He was forced to intervene in the Calley case precisely because of the widespread conviction that higher-ups shared the guilt. In their handling of the Medina case, the Army brass have done nothing to irritate their commander in chief.

In Review

Magazines

The Second Wave



Cover design from *The Second Wave*

The Second Wave. Published at Box 303, Kenmore Square Station, Boston, Mass. 02215. It is important to see women's liberation in all its diversity, and to know that the many powerful forces from which it springs have caused a movement whose strength at present lies in its appeal to a variety of women for a variety of reasons.

In its quarterly magazine, *The Second Wave*, Boston Female Liberation has brought together lucid expressions of a wide range of feminist viewpoints. Through poetry, essays and fiction, women show both the pleasure and struggle in their discovery of feminism: artists who are using their gifts to portray a new consciousness; gay women who are developing a tenable life style in a predominantly straight, sexist society; radical feminists who are planning a strategy for revolution; working women who are organizing; women interested in technology, raising children, legalizing abortion, ending the war, and the dehumanization of pornography.

Anais Nin, who is interviewed in the second issue of *The Second Wave*, sees the current feminist activism as an expansion of her insights and experiences during her career as author, diarist and psychologist. She speaks of women exploring their potential, responding to each other and helping one another to give voice to their thoughts. In doing so, she expresses the bringing together of personal growth and social change.

Organizing techniques for drawing women into active involvement in the movement and maintaining their commitment are discussed in an article by Margaret Benston, author of "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation."

Abortion rights for Black women is the topic of Maryanne Weathers, who talks of the growing awareness among Black women of the practical necessity of organization and information to acquire pregnancy termination as a viable alternative to "a one-way ticket to the nowhere place of the welfare rolls."

Nancy Williamson writes of her experiences rearing her male child, trying to avoid sex role stereotyping from the very beginning. She proposes allowing male and female children to wear the same clothes and learn the same games and skills in order for each child to develop his or her own selfhood, free of sex role constraints.

An article by two secretaries at the University of California at Berkeley, Carol Hatch and Margaret Henderson, argues that despite the attractive appearance of some secretarial jobs, they all remain painfully degrading and stifling. Raised consciousness has made their experiences all the more grating, they say, but has brought them together to work out common problems and strategy.

The Second Wave contains many articles of feminist interest other than those described here, providing a comprehensive and intelligent look at the spectrum of ideas in the women's movement today. The staff will consider for inclusion any articles, poetry, fiction or graphics submitted to them at: P.O. Box 303, Kenmore Square Station, Boston, Mass. 02215. Subscriptions are \$3 per year, single copies are 75 cents; discounts of 25 percent for orders of 10 or more may be obtained at the same address.

— HOLLY NEWMAN

Film MILLHOUSE

Millhouse: A White Comedy. Directed and produced by Emile de Antonio. A New Yorker Films Release.

Nixon's the one, yes, Nixon's the one,
To build a brand new wonderful world.
He's the undisputed voice of the thinking man,
He's everybody's choice for a better plan.

If you think this bit of pompom Americana is unreal in the revolting way the school songs sung at football games are, then you get the point of *Millhouse*. *Millhouse* is not only about Nixon (the title is a play on Nixon's middle name), but it is about the America that makes a phenomenon like Nixon possible. It is infuriating, as it intends to be.

Emile de Antonio, whose last film success was *In the Year of the Pig*, has done to Nixon more or less what he did to Joseph McCarthy in *Point of Order*. Starting out with newsreels and interviews with participants in and observers of Nixon's political career, de Antonio skillfully uses flashbacks, cuts, juxtapositions and *double entendres* to tell the Nixon story. It is a real Horatio Alger story. It is proof that the American Dream comes true—but only for mediocrities who don't deserve to be.

The film opens at Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum, where the wax figure of Millhouse is being put together. By the end of the film—after all the lying, rigged TV performances, fabricated witch-hunting of "subversives," slanderous campaigning for public office, searching for Communist plots in pumpkin patches, and eagle-spread victory salutes to the aging and mindless delegates to Republican Party conventions—it is clear that the "new" Nixon is really the same old phony he always was. Those who still tell public opinion pollsters they think the president is doing a good job have in mind the wax figure, not the real McCoy. This film gives them the real McCoy.

It traces the seemingly irresistible rise of Richard Milhouse Nixon from the red-baiting 1946 campaign against California Congressman Jerry Voorhis, through the Alger Hiss hearings ("It was the

Hiss case that was the thing . . . that made him, says Fred J. Cook); the 1952 Republican convention where Nixon became the vice-presidential candidate (especially, according to Ike, for his "ability to ferret out any subversive influence wherever it may be found"); giving the famous "Checkers" speech, where he tries (successfully) to save his political career by going on TV to paint himself, in true soap-opera style, as a pauper ("Pat and I have the satisfaction that every dime we've got is honestly ours. I should say this, that Pat doesn't have a mink coat, but she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat and I always tell her she'd look good in anything . . ."); almost tripping over the fly at the end of his line while fishing with Ike; addressing a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution with a mammoth American flag floating like a giant sting ray overhead ("The only thing worse than atomic war today," he tells the patriots, "is surrender"); getting mobbed in Latin America; with Diem; being made an "official member of the FBI family" by J. Edgar Hoover; ignoring the Nov. 15, 1969, mass antiwar demonstration in Washington; posing with his cabinet. And throughout, de Antonio lets Nixon for the most part tell you who he is in his own words.

Some of the footage in this film would be valuable to see even if it hadn't managed to find its way into this devastating indictment of the president of the United States. The House Un-American Activities Committee hearings on the Alger Hiss case, for instance. Nixon would not be president today were it not for the successful smear job he did on Alger Hiss ("verdict first and testimony later tactics," Hiss accuses Nixon of resorting to), and it is interesting to see the participants in this, one of the more sordid chapters in Nixon's career; besides Nixon and Hiss, they include Whittaker Chambers, who looks and sounds like a parody of Alfred Hitchcock. Seeing Nixon hold up for the press a few frames of film negative found in a pumpkin patch and claim with a straight face that they contain secret Communist documents is rather telling: You can see that Nixon

didn't believe it himself. The remarkable thing is that so many other people did, and that it sent Hiss, not Nixon, to jail.

One of the more raucous sequences in *Millhouse* is the one on Millhouse the Intellectual. Jules Witcover, author of *The Resurrection of Richard Nixon*, says that on several occasions Nixon "described himself to me as an intellectual. He called himself at one point the egghead of the Republican Party. . . ." De Antonio then immediately cuts to an evening of the Bob Hope show at the White House, with an audience of dignitaries, among them Nixon, who wallows with obvious glee in the cultural barbarism that has made Bob Hope rich (the program contains not only the kind of anti-homosexual jokes which still draw laughs for Hope, but also go-go girls in a zestful rendition of "Nixon's the one, yes, Nixon's the one"). By this point, you'll agree he's the one, all right.

Considering its subject, this is actually a horror film, in spite of the fact that de Antonio calls it a comedy "in the tradition of the Marx brothers." After all, the Marx brothers just made films, they didn't run the most powerful country on earth. And they weren't mediocrities. The question this film really raises, though of course only implicitly, is, How could someone like Nixon, who had nothing but his success as a Wall Street lawyer to recommend him, and who so often seemed out of the picture, reach the top? It says a lot—none of it good—about the social system in the United States that someone like Nixon is able to become president. Even when such heroes of the system are down and out—as Nixon was many times—they apparently never die, they just bounce back.

The fact that Nixon has bounced back in the middle of a mass radicalization where he is like a fish on dry land may add a note of optimism. But when Nixon gets the *coup de grâce* (and may it be the antiwar actions Nov. 6 that help do it!), the system will still be there. This film can only help fan the flames of the discontent it will take to get rid of it.

— DAVID THORSTAD

Dock workers prepare to fight

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 5—At the time this story is being filed, it appears that President Nixon will impose a Taft-Hartley 80-day injunction on the West Coast longshoremen's and ship clerks' strike. The strike is now in its 14th week. Nixon took the first steps that could lead to a back-to-work court order after his man-on-the-spot J. Curtis Counts, head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, told his boss, "An early settlement is not foreseeable."

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Pacific Maritime Association have, according to Counts, "made a genuine effort to reach an agreement." But the negotiations have remained at a stalemate on all major issues.

Nixon may impose the Taft-Hartley on the East Coast strikers of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) as well. Negotiations between the ILA and its employers, according to reports here, are getting nowhere.

The Oct. 5 *San Francisco Chronicle* commented, "some observers feel that the union has more to gain than employers from a back-to-work order." A quick survey of the Bay Area ILWU picket lines and hiring halls found very few unionists dismayed.

"We'll do what we did in 1948," one oldtimer said. "We'll use the 80 days to refuel, to get some groceries on the shelf, and if the PMA doesn't come through, we'll hit the bricks again."

In 1948, the last time the longshoremen were on strike, President Truman used Taft-Hartley. According to the provisions of this law, if a settlement is not reached within 60 days, the union votes on the last offer of the employers. In 1948, after 60 days the Federal government set up polling places up and down the coast. The ILWU declared a boycott and not one ballot was cast. The ILWU waited out the 80 days and simultaneously conducted an extremely effective slowdown. It then struck for 95 days to win virtually all of its demands.

Knowing this history, the PMA did not demand the Taft-Hartley. It feels it could come to terms with the Bridges leadership if given a few weeks. The East Coast ship owners seem to feel the same way. Nixon represents the

capitalist economy as a whole, which will be in serious trouble if both coasts are on strike.

Eighty percent of U.S. foreign trade goes through ILA-organized East and Gulf Coast ports.

If an injunction sends 15,000 ILA and ILWU members back to work, it is certain that they will use the cooling-off period to straighten out strike policy. Many strikers feel that the main reason the ship owners remained so tough after 90 days was Bridges' weak conduct of the strike.

Even devoted Bridges men were embarrassed by Bridges' most recent PMA action. After the Bay Area rank-and-file steering committee had declared the Matson Line's *Californian* and the States Line's *Wyoming* "hot ships," Bridges' Coast Strike Strategy Committee overruled them and ordered these ships worked. The *Californian* and the *Wyoming*, while presumably under military charter, picked up commercial cargoes in Hawaii and Japan respectively and deposited them in Vancouver, British Columbia, for transshipment to the U.S.

"This is the phoniest strike I have ever been in," commented one picket. "We have to push Port Commissioner Harry Bridges out of the way before we go on strike again."

"That's right," another striker said. "We can handle PMA, we can handle the government, but we haven't been able to handle our own top leadership. We've got to do it in the 80 days." This is a general attitude among the San Francisco strikers.

...docks

Continued from page 1

back to work. The question facing the board of inquiry was whether to order resumption of work on both coasts.

The New York Shipping Association sent a telegram to Nixon after his Portland threat to invoke Taft-Hartley, asking him not to take this step because it would require the employers to continue the guaranteed annual wage payments to longshoremen, which they had previously terminated. Thus, Nixon openly showed that he acts in the interest of the big shipping companies and has no concern for the workers.

The present near-paralysis of ocean shipping, like the 1946 nationwide seamen's strike, results from a series of provocative moves by waterfront employers—encouraged and abetted by government intervention—to restrict wages and undermine working conditions.

The employers in the present strike seek to reduce the waterfront work

Nixon's 'price freeze' is a fraud

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' "Operation Price Watch" in New York charged Sept. 29 that Spotless dry cleaners and Horn and Hardart retail bakeries had raised their prices in violation of the "price freeze," according to the Sept. 30 *New York Times*.

The Internal Revenue Service told inquiring reporters that Spotless had agreed to roll back its prices and that the IRS had approved Horn and Hardart's increases because they applied to "new products." The company recently switched to a different wholesale bakery. This was enough to qualify for the "new product" exemption despite the fact that the "new" pies are exactly the same types previously sold.

A check of four Spotless stores by Operation Price Watch and a reporter after Spotless' prices had supposedly been rolled back showed them still charging the higher prices.

The Cost of Living Council announced Oct. 2 that in the week ending Sept. 28 reports of "price freeze" violations jumped to 4,365 from 3,608 the previous week. The latter total was revised upward from the 2,606 previously reported for that week by the council.

New York City has received the green light from the federal government to go ahead with rent increases slated to go into effect Jan. 1 under the new rent-control program, regardless of what "Phase Two" controls on rents may be put into effect. City housing officials estimate that the new program will mean an average initial increase of \$5.70 a month for persons in controlled apartments.

force, subject longshoremen to the uncertainties of irregular ship arrivals, and hire them as part-time workers on an hourly basis.

In the port of New York, longshoremen had agreed to mechanization of cargo handling in exchange for a guaranteed annual wage. Under terms of the expired agreement, registered longshoremen were guaranteed 2,080 hours of pay a year, i.e., 40 hours a week for 52 weeks.

Mechanization has so increased productivity that 500,000 more tons of cargo are handled in the port of New York now than in 1966, with nearly 3,500 fewer longshoremen, a reduction of 10 million man-hours according to industry statistics.

This increase in productivity represents an estimated financial gain of \$65-million for the employers. Despite this, however, the New York Shipping Association is going back on its previous agreement to pay a guaranteed annual wage. This costs them \$15-million annually and may go to \$30-million, they say, and makes their operation "non-competitive" with prevailing conditions in other nearby East Coast ports. In the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore, longshoremen were guaranteed 1,800 hours of pay a year, and in Norfolk, Va., only 1,700 hours. The employers have notified the union that they plan to make it all equal by eliminating the annual guarantee.

In some Atlantic ports and all Gulf

ports there is no guaranteed annual wage. Thus, the employers' moves don't directly affect the dock workers there. This accounts for the failure of longshoremen in Houston, Corpus Christi, Galveston and Brownsville, Texas, and Port Everglades and Miami, Fla., to join the strike. In line with the policy of the ILA, union officials have agreed to continue work in those ports during the government wage freeze if prevailing conditions of the old contract are maintained. R.J. Hunt, secretary-treasurer of ILA Local 872 in Houston, announced that 6,000 longshoremen in most Gulf ports were continuing to work.

At the insistence of the New York Shipping Association, Nixon may not invoke the 80-day "cooling off" period of the Taft-Hartley Act on the East Coast because this would require the employers to continue under the old contract and pay the guaranteed wage. It would also disrupt their timetable for the strike, which is to force the workers back to work before Christmas under terms dictated by the stevedore companies.

Longshoremen on all coasts have an opportunity at this juncture to establish uniform working conditions and wages with guaranteed annual pay for 2,080 hours. But Gulf longshoremen would have to join the strike for these demands, exposing the injustice of the employers' provocation and forcing the government to withdraw.

...Pentagon

Continued from page 13

Johnson's resignation

When Johnson announced his plans not to seek renomination in the 1968 Democratic primary, and Senators Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy emerged as the front-running "peace candidates," *The Militant* carried a front-page statement by Fred Halstead, the SWP's 1968 presidential candidate. Virtually every word of Halstead's statement bears repeating in this review.

"The turn in the political situation resulting from Johnson's announcement . . . presents both opportunities and dangers for the antiwar movement," Halstead declared.

"Johnson has become the symbol of the war, since he is the chief executive carrying it out. But the Vietnam war is not merely Johnson's war. It is a direct result of the cold war policies going back to Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman. . . .

"Should antiwar activists now assume that since Johnson has said he will not accept nomination

the war will quickly end and peace be assured? Will a different capitalist politician in the White House make a real difference?

"McCarthy's and Kennedy's campaigns are designed to give the illusion that it will make a difference. Their real aims are to corral the antiwar movement back into the Democratic Party. . . .

"Johnson's withdrawal does not change the aggressive intentions of the ruling class by one iota. . . .

"Johnson hopes to shift public sentiment against the Vietnamese people through his phony 'peace offer' [opening the Paris 'peace talks']—D.R.]. . . . McCarthy and Kennedy are hailing this phony gambit.

"But the antiwar movement can effectively counter all of Johnson's machinations. It can counter all of McCarthy's and Kennedy's schemes to get the antiwar activists off the streets. . . . The antiwar movement can do this by continuing to build massive street demonstrations, by continuing to demand that the bombing be halted unconditionally and completely and permanently, and that the troops be brought home now."

If these words sound familiar to readers of *The Militant*, all the more so will Halstead's conclusion: "At this time," he said, "the most important task facing the antiwar movement is to build the

April Days of Protest into powerful demonstrations against the war."

That was written in April 1968.

The antiwar movement has not been derailed by White House gimmicks and Democratic and Republican party hoaxes. It is much bigger today than in 1968. The demonstrations in April 1971 were almost 10 times the size of those in April 1968 and they represented many new layers of the American population who have since entered the struggle against the war.

But the plain fact of the matter is that that struggle is not yet over. If there is one lesson that stands out from the Pentagon papers, it is that the imperialists in Washington answer only to force. It was the valiant offensive of the revolutionaries in South Vietnam and the mass demonstrations of public opposition to the war that forced the turn in Washington's policy in 1968.

But the imperialists did not give up and have not given up on their three-decade-long ambition of stabilizing a capitalist regime in Indochina, headquartered in Saigon. They will not give up on it until they are forced to. What has been done by the antiwar movement must be continued and expanded on an even greater scale.

Calendar

BERKELEY/OAKLAND

THE 1972 ELECTIONS AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT. Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, national coordinator, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Tues., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m., Student Union, UC Berkeley. Ausp. YSA.

THE STRUGGLE FOR IRISH FREEDOM. Speaker: Sean Kenney, joint general secretary of Sinn Fein and Sinn Fein official representative to the United States and Canada. Thurs., Oct. 14, 12 noon, at Pauley Ballroom, UC Berkeley campus. Meeting sponsored by SUPERB, MECHA, United Prisoners Union, Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

THE STRUGGLE FOR IRISH FREEDOM. Speaker: Sean Kenney, joint general secretary of Sinn Fein, Sinn Fein official representative to the United States and Canada. Thurs., Oct. 14, 8 p.m., at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Admission: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

BOSTON

NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE—WHO PROFITS? Panelists: David Deitch, economics columnist for the Boston Globe; John Mitchell, international representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; George Basley, lecturer on economics, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday, 7 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. You are invited!

CHICAGO

THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN POLITICS. A speech by Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; campaign rally guest speakers, refreshments. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m., at the Loop YWCA, 37 S. Wabash, Third Floor. Contribution: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. '72 Socialist Workers Party Campaign.

LOS ANGELES

RIGHTIST COUP IN BOLIVIA—IS CHILE NEXT? Speaker: Dr. Timothy Harding, professor at Cal State L.A., recently returned from Chile. Fri., Oct. 15, 8:30 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 463-1966 or 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FREUD OR MARX: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF WILHELM REICH. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, former editor of The Militant. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FALL EDUCATIONAL SERIES. "The place and function of the Transitional Program," the second of two lectures on the Transitional Program by George Novack, noted Marxist author and scholar. Sun., Oct. 17, 1 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Admission: 50c. Ausp. Socialist-Workers Party. For more information, call 260-0976.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

REIGN OF TERROR IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. Speaker: a member of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic. Fri., Oct. 15, 8:30 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

THE HIGH SCHOOL REVOLT: A SYMPOSIUM. Representatives of the high school women's liberation and Student Mobilization Committee. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m., at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Thorne

Continued from page 8

Of course, they ran into the problem that according to Life magazine it was 10 seconds from when the guard started to check George's hair to when George grabbed the empty gun, put a clip in, and got the drop on three guards. Presumably George was in handcuffs—the standard procedure was always to take a man in handcuffs from the adjustment center to the visiting room and back. So then they said George wasn't in handcuffs because he was always known as a cooperative prisoner.

The gun was first a .38, then it was an 8.5-inch long, 9mm Spanish gun, and then when the San Francisco Chronicle came out with its story showing you couldn't hide a gun like that under a wig, the gun became 5.5 inches long.

Incidentally, one of the strangest things they said was that when the guard who had taken George back got into the adjustment center, he allegedly noticed what he thought was a pencil in George's hair. Then he realized that it wasn't a pencil and started to inquire about it. It is at this point they claim George reached for a gun. I find it very strange that they tell us the thoughts that went through the guard's mind, because he was one of the guards who got killed.

Militant: Weren't conferences in the visiting rooms watched closely by the guards?

Thorne: First of all, I don't see how anybody could get a gun in a tape recorder inside that place. I don't see how anyone could ever smuggle a gun in that way. Of course, to back their story they claim that Steve Bingham did it and of course, all they're saying is that that's the only way they can see that it occurred. They say, "Mr. Bingham went in and he went through the metal detector, but we didn't check his briefcase." I can't conceive of them not doing it. I especially can't believe they wouldn't check his briefcase, if they—as they claim—had noticed in advance that such an attempted escape was under way. It is ludicrous for them to say they didn't check.

Then, when a person is sitting in that visiting room—it's a very, very small room—the guard sits directly outside the door. The guard can see everything by looking through the door because it has a very large panel that is wire mesh.

Militant: Didn't you just talk with Angela Davis? We were wondering if she

had expressed some feelings on Jackson's death.

Thorne: I'm sure you saw Angela Davis' statement. If not, it is available. I can only tell you Angela was and is very deeply emotionally shocked and hurt. This was a tragic loss to her personally because of the great feelings of love they had for each other. Angela took his death as a great political loss and a personal loss.

...NOW

Continued from page 15

of some NOW leaders to prevent endorsement of WONAAC and the Nov. 20 abortion demonstration. It is only in the context of this perspective of "out of the streets and into responsible participation in the two major parties" that the attack on the SWP, the YSA and WONAAC can be understood. The leading red-baiters have as their priority working within the Democratic Party and making NOW acceptable to Democratic liberals by disavowing mass street actions and association with socialists.

Those who want to see the radicalizing feminist movement abandon its independence and work within the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties know that their strongest and most consistent opponent will be the SWP and the YSA.

This is the reason for the heavy-handed attack on an organization that had only one voting member at the whole conference. This was the reason for the discriminatory treatment of Linda Jenness, the only candidate for president concerned enough about the feminist movement to come to the national conference of NOW.

PRIORITY ON WORKING WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES ALSO EXPLAINS THE OPPOSITION TO BUILDING AN INDEPENDENT, NATIONAL COALITION OF ALL WOMEN TO IMPLEMENT NOW'S PROGRAM FOR A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CONTROL HER OWN BODY: REPEAL OF ALL ANTIABORTION LAWS, NO RESTRICTIONS ON CONTRACEPTION, AND NO FORCED STERILIZATION.

WHERE NOW IS GOING WILL BE DECIDED VERY LARGELY BY THE PRIORITIES OF THE WOMEN BUILDING THE LOCAL CHAPTERS, AND THEIR CONSCIOUSNESS. IF THEY CAN ENSURE THAT NOW SETS ITS PRIORITY ON ORGANIZING THE MASS POWER OF WOMEN AS AN INDEPENDENT FORCE, IF THEY CAN ENSURE THAT NOW FUNCTIONS DEMOCRATICALLY AND REJECTS THE METHOD OF RED-BAITING, IF THEY CAN ENSURE THAT NOW JOINS IN BUILDING THE NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN AND THE NOV. 20 MARCH ON WASHINGTON, THEN NOW WILL BE ABLE TO REALIZE ITS POTENTIAL.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

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(Signed)
Sharon Cabaniss
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Black Voices from Prison



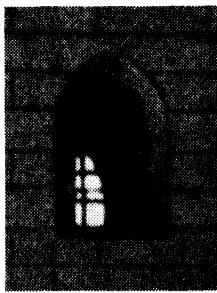
by Etheridge Knight

"The warden said to me the other day (innocently, I think), "Say, etheridge, why come the black boys don't run off like the white boys do?" I lowered my jaw and scratched my head and said (innocently, I think), "Well, suh, I ain't for sure, but I reckon it's cause we ain't got no wheres to run to."

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THE MILITANT

Thieu's 'election' means mass police repression

By DICK ROBERTS

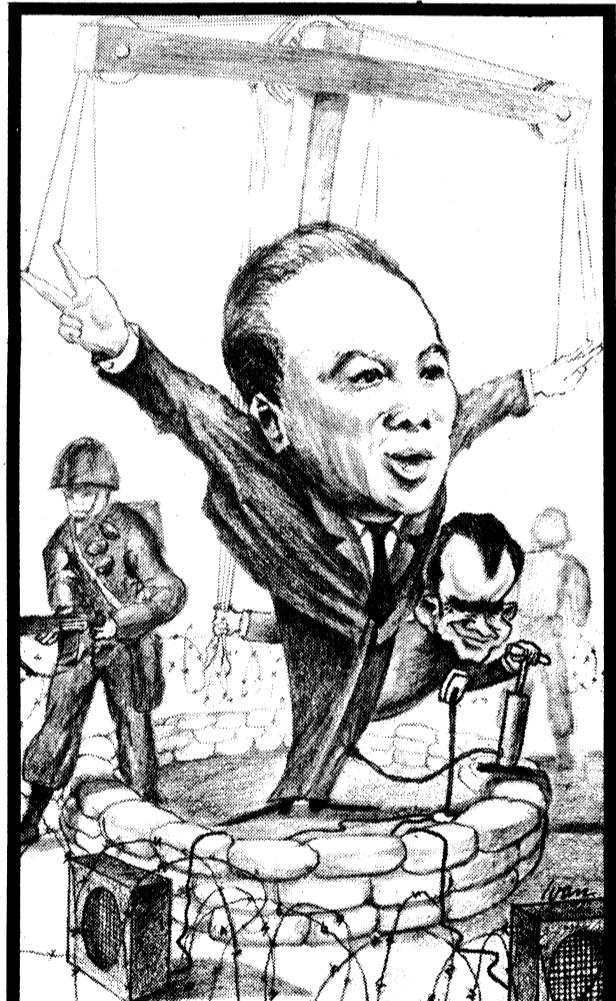
Despite massive military and police repression, opponents of President Nguyen Van Thieu demonstrated against the Saigon regime and the fraudulent South Vietnamese election down to the day of voting Oct. 3.

"Expanded security measures on the part of the combat police were much in evidence in Saigon," New York Times correspondent Iver Peterson reported Oct. 1. Peterson described a police tear-gas attack on a Buddhist rally.

A monk "had just called Mr. Thieu 'a Hitler' when the first tear-gas bombs began to explode outside the pagoda," said Peterson. "The gas billowed into the auditorium: the audience, including many women and young people, jammed up at the exits. . . .

"People vomited, screamed and clung to each other. Feedback from the public address system screeched emptily from the abandoned speakers' podium. The police, wearing gas masks, ripped down anti-government banners that hung in the pagoda."

In Hué, two large demonstrations organized by 3,000 students were held on election day. "The students were dispersed by tear gas," New York Times reporter Alvin Shuster revealed.



"... the most democratic period Vietnam has ever known." — Thieu

Election-day protests were also held in Danang. "Many shops were shuttered, tear-gas grenades were thrown and rifles were fired in many polling areas, and armored personnel carriers chased rioters through [the] downtown," according to a Times correspondent in Danang.

These protests in the three largest South Vietnamese cities — Saigon, Hué, and Danang — put another big question mark over Thieu's pretense of "democratic elections."

The demonstrations against Thieu were held even after his orders to the National Police Sept. 29 to "shoot down anyone who attempts to burn vehicles in the streets" and to arrest leaders and "punish them severely."

"Americans have provided the fire power and expertise now being used by President Thieu to suppress opposition," the Chicago Daily News press service reported from Saigon Oct. 2.

"Police have been trained by Americans and are equipped with American weapons, vehicles and sophisticated communications devices. All this has cost U.S. taxpayers an estimated \$12-million in the last year and about \$50-million since the late 1950s. . . .

"In recent days police power has been used not only to stop fire-bombings of U.S. cars and destruction of Thieu's campaign posters but also to prevent political opponents from holding meetings."

In Danang Oct. 4, "the American consul . . . Frederick Z. Brown apologized . . . for an incident in which an American adviser to the police showed them [Danang cops] how to load tear-gas cannisters into grenade launchers as they were attacking militant demonstrators," according to a New York Times report of the same date.

The U.S. Senate meanwhile readopted the amendment of Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield, which is supposed to call for a total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam in six months, provided American prisoners of war are released.

This is the second time such an amendment has been adopted. The previous one, which set a nine-month limit, was passed last June. But it was watered down in a House-Senate conference, and this is likely to happen to the new Mansfield amendment.

Despite the fact that Congressional passage of the Mansfield amendment is consequently precluded, the amendment doesn't mean very much anyway. Not reported in the leading newspapers was Mansfield's clarification of the amendment under questioning by Senator John McClellan (D-Ark.).

McClellan asked if the amendment would have the force of law. Mansfield responded: "The amendment does not have the force of law. It is a little stronger than a sense of the Congress resolution; it declares it to be the policy of Congress and the executive branch, the government of the United States, and in that sense, it is a very strong expression of hope, but it certainly does not tie the president's hands."

McClellan then asked Mansfield how the president could set a date for withdrawal in six months without first negotiating with Hanoi about the release of prisoners.

"The amendment would call for negotiations," Mansfield replied. "It would call for a cease-fire, then negotiations, then an agreement. This does not tie the president's hands. His flexibility is not hindered and his responsibility is not taken away from him." (Congressional Record, Sept. 30, p. S 15569.)

Although all of the Democratic Party "doves" who are hopeful of campaigning for the presidency on a "peace" ticket in 1972 voted for the Mansfield amendment, not one of them took exception to its legal meaninglessness as revealed in this exchange between McClellan and Mansfield.

In fact, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), speaking in support of the amendment, whined, "It was time to end the war a year ago. It was time to end the war six months ago. It is time to end the war today." If that is the case, one is tempted to ask, why don't Kennedy and his colleagues come out for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and why don't they tell the truth about their maneuvers in the halls of Congress?

The Southeast Asia war continued to rage on the battlefield while world attention focused on Thieu's one-ring election circus. Heavy fighting was reported along the border of Cambodia and South Vietnam. A Los Angeles Times dispatch Sept. 28 stated: "Outnumbered South Vietnamese troops battled to keep their last major foothold in eastern Cambodia in what their commanding general called the heaviest fighting in the border area since the 1970 allied offensive."

Associated Press reported from Saigon Oct. 3 that "U.S. and South Vietnamese fighter-bombers flew 150 strikes on North Vietnamese positions along the Cambodian border yesterday. The strikes were aimed at stopping the enemy's week-old offensive in that region."

"Maj. Gen. Jack J. Wagstaff, the senior U.S. adviser to the South Vietnamese, said the North Vietnamese were suffering from strikes by bombers, helicopter gunships and artillery."

"With this tremendous firepower, if there is any accuracy at all, and we think there is, the enemy has got to be suffering," General Wagstaff declared. "We're really laying in the firepower now!"

San Quentin prisoners indicted

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 5 — Without listening to the testimony of a single prisoner, the Marin County grand jury returned Oct. 1 a 12-count conspiracy and murder indictment against the following San Quentin inmates: Hugo Pinnell, 27; John Larry Spain, 22; Luis N. Talamantez, 28; David Johnson, 24; Willie Tate, 27; and Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo, 26. The six — along with George Jackson and Attorney Stephen Bingham — are charged with planning and executing the events on Aug. 21 that led to the deaths of six men, including Jackson.

The San Quentin six were indicted after the grand jury heard only 20 hours of carefully stage-managed testimony, the bulk of which had been provided by San Quentin guards and investigators from the Marin County district attorney's office.

After the hearing, juror Gerry Hawes, 37, submitted his resignation, stating that the "unwillingness of this jury to seek impartial legal advice during the indictment session makes impossible a fair and just procedure which can mete out genuine justice." Two other jurors, James Kilty, 47, and Richard Beban, 23, were equally critical of the procedure.

Beban, the youngest person ever to sit on a grand jury in Marin County, angrily stated that "the railroad is still running." The grand jury, he said, reflected "the racism, paranoia, and economic bias of Marin County." "It was not justice," he charged, "but vengeance."

The San Quentin prisoners were brought manacled into court before Judge E. Warren McGuire. Defendant David Johnson, who listed Ruchell Magee as his attorney, tried to read a habeus corpus petition documenting the brutality unleashed against the defendants by San Quentin guards. Johnson also tried to submit an affidavit stating that McGuire should disqualify himself for bias. When McGuire refused, Johnson angrily replied, "You're in conspiracy right along with them."

McGuire's arrogance was demonstrated by his complete denial of motions for recess in order to allow the defendants to confer as a group. He reluctantly agreed to rule on a restraining order that would bar San Quentin authorities from denying prisoners access to attorneys who are not on record as formally representing them. The hearing was postponed until Oct. 15.

N.Y. workers hit freeze

By JENNIFER SIMPSON

NEW YORK — Thousands of hospital workers demonstrated in three different cities Oct. 1 against Nixon's wage freeze. While demonstrations took place in Newark, N.J., and Philadelphia, some 7,000 members of Local 1199 Drug and Hospital union gathered here in front of the federal courthouse building at Foley Square.

The date of the action had special significance because Oct. 1 was the day 8,000 Local 1199 members would have received wage increases — negotiated over one year ago — if Nixon had not ordered a wage freeze. Also scheduled to go into effect on the first of this month was a benefit plan for dental care that has been indefinitely canceled by the freeze.

Not least among the issues that drew workers to the demonstration was the war in Southeast Asia. The theme of ending the war was as central to the demonstration as ending the wage freeze.

Speakers included Doris Turner and Jesse Olsen, both leaders of Local 1199, Representatives William F. Ryan and Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Joseph Gleason, national vice-president of American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO).

A sour note was added to the action when Local 1199 marshals attempted to prohibit the sale and distribution of antiwar literature to demonstrators. Marshals threatened physical violence and arrest against those attempting to leaflet or sell in a peaceful way. Especially serious is the fact that supporters of the National Peace Action Coalition were prevented from distributing a leaflet signed by trade unionists, including three leaders of Local 1199, calling for support to the fall antiwar actions.

In spite of this undemocratic harassment, the rally in all other respects set an example for the rest of organized labor in New York.